# Religion and Loyalty

OR, A

# Demonstration

OF

Power of the Christian Church within it Self.

The Supremacy of Sovereign Powers over

Duty of Passive Obedience, or Non-Reassance to all their Commands.

#### Exemplified

Out of the Records of the Church and the Empire, from the Beginning of Christianity to the End of the Reign of FULIAN.

By Samuel Parker D. D. Arch-Deacon of C A N T E R B V R T.

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#### AN

# ADDRESS

TO HIS

# MAJESTY

FROMTHE

## Primitive Church!

SIR,

The whole Christian World being both Alarm'd and Amazed at the late Barbarous Conspiracy against the Sacred Lives of Tour Majesty, and Tour Royal Brother: And Tour Majesty having upon that Occasion been over-whelm'd with numberless Addresses and Protestations of Loyalty from Tour dutiful Subjects of the Church of England: I thought it not improper or unseasonable to consult the Records of the best and purest times of our Religion for Precedents of this Loyal Pratice, and after an Accurate, Diligent and Impartial Enquiry, I dare in their Names A z

declare to Your Majesty and all the Christian World, their infinite abhorrence of all Treasonable and Rebellious Attempts against all Sovereign Powers whatsoever, as the rankest contradiction to their Christian Faith, and the boldest Blasphemy against their own Sovereign Lord. So that though Tour Majesty were as much an Enemy as Tou are a Patron and Protector of the Church, whoever shall at any time, or upon any pretence, offer any Refistance to any of Iour Royal Commands, must forever renounce his Saviour, the four Evangelists, and the Twelve Apostles, to join with Mahomet, Hildebrand and the Kirk, set up the Pigeon against the Dove, the Scimeter against the Cross, and turn a Judas to his Saviour, as well as a Cromwel to his Prince.

And this, Sir, in those days was thought fo far from flattering Divinity, that if they had not own'd and asserted it with their last drop of Blood under the worst of Tyrants, they had judged themselves Traytors both to their Prince and to their Lord. And this Doctrine of entire and unreserved Submission was then so Catholique, so Universally Taught and Practiced, that Christian Rebellion was a Sin altogether unknown in those days. It was the only Sin, for which the Laws of the Church never

ver appointed any Punishment, because it was the only Sin that was then never actually committed. And though they had too frequent and Sad Occasions to enter their Protestations against it, that was never done to correct any miscarriages among themselves, but to rectifie the misapprehensions of the Roman Emperours: Who being possest with too just a Jealousie, that all Alterations in Religion tended to Innovations in Government, they thought themselves obliged in Duty, and for the honour of their Lord to represent to their Maje-Sties, That the erecting of his Kingdom in the Empire, was so far from Shaking their Thrones, that it was and ever would be their strongest Security: And when they had done this, they had nothing more to do: then to submit themselves to their Royal Pleasure, and lay their Lives at their Royal Feet.

And this, Sir, they did with that Candour, Frankness, and Ingenuity, so without all reserves and limitations, that the slander that some Men have dasht upon their Memories is as false as foul, that all their Pretended Loyalty was nothing but Hypocrise, for want of strength to raise, and pretence of Law to Warrant Rebellion. But some Men are so ignorant, that they cannot understand the Dostrine of the Cross,

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because its Superscription was written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and were they not as great Strangers to the Primitive Records, as to the Primitive Religion, they could never have had the confidence to fasten a surmise so false upon so clear an Integrity; when beside giving us their own Opinions, they have left behind them the Eternal and unalterable Reasons, upon which they were grounded, and these are of equal force in all Ages, and under all Governments. And this unkind Calumny is so very unjust, that their spightful and most implacable Enemies, who spared not to asperse them with all the vile things that could be believed, durst never charge them either with any Overt-acts, or secret defigns of Difloyalty.

And as for the Laws, though no Subject were ever more thankful for good Laws, or more tender of their preservation then themselves, yet when they had them, they were neither so ungrateful nor so uncivil, as to turn them upon the Government, and make them so many Bulwarks and Sconces for Rebellion. They thought it a very scurvey complement to invite Princes to protect their Religion, by telling them, That whilf they were pleased to Persecute it, Christians were under an entire Submission to their Will and Pleasure, but when they

had once own'd and protected it by Law, that then their Christian Subjects were warranted to Rebel against their Sovereign Authority, by a Commission from their own Imperial Rescripts. As soft and simple Lachrimists as they were, they were wifer then to give Julian so much advantage to justifie his Apostacy, when by it he recover'd the Imperial Crown to himself and his Successors, that Constantine had pawned to his Christian Subjects, by taking up the Christian Faith. And whenever there was any misunderstanding between the Emperour and his Laws, they thought it their duty, that were subject to both, to leave the Contest to be adjusted between themselves. And if the Prince were at any time undutiful to his own Laws, and so unhappy as to incur their displeasure, whatever Power the Laws had to Execute themselves upon him, they were satisfied that the Subjects had none.

And as they embraced this Principle of unlimited Submission as one of the greatest duties of their Religion, so they have farther declared in all their Writings, that fetting aside all tyes of Duty and Conscience, they would have done the same upon Principles of Interest and Prudence: And tho they had lived under the worst of Princes, and themselves had been the worst of Men, they

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they would have paid the same submission for the purchase of their own ease and safety, that they thought themselves to owe out of duty to God and his Laws. Thefe, Sir, were the Doctrines that they taught both as Divines and Philosophers, as Men that understood this World, as well as Christians that believed the World to come. And though to avoid being too bold and tedious, I have here only presented Tour Majesty with the Subscriptions of all the most Reverend Fathers of the Church for the first Three hundred and fixty three Tears; yet if Your Majesty think it worth Your Royal Acceptance, I am ready to produce not only the hasty Votes, but the Hands of all Chri-Stian Bishops and Doctors for above a Thoufand Tears, with a Nemine Contradicente.

But beside the demonstration of the Primitive Loyalty, I have here humbly presented Iour Majesty with the true State of the Primitive Church, as it was left by our Lord and his Apostles, and taken into Protection by the first Christian Emperours, knowing how much it will endear the Church of England to Tour Majesties Royal Care and Kindness, when you discern its exact conformity to the first Constitution, in all things but its Suffering. And now I cannot pray for more happiness to Tour Sacred Majesty, then they comprised

fed in a Collect for their Heathen Emperours under all the Storms and Outrages of Persecution: That Almighty God would grant Tou a Long Life, a Quiet Reign, an Ondisturbed Family, Valiant Armies, Faithful Councellors, and Loyal Subjects: That all things may fall out as successfully as Tour Royal Heart can desire: That Tour Empire may ever increase and flourish: And that the Lineal and Legal Succession of Tour Royal Family, may inherit Tour Imperial Throne through all Succeeding Ages. Which is the daily Prayer of

Your Majesties

Most Humble and

Dutiful Subject

S. P.

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## PART I.

#### SECT. I.

Pon the Dissolution of the Roman Tyranny, under which all Christendom had groan'd for many Ages; infinite were the diffutes and controversies, that were immediately every where raifed about the true Constitution of the Ecclesiastical State and Government. Some out of an over-vehement loathing of their late Bondage, were out-ragious for its utter Abolition, fo as to leave every man to his own liberty. and folly too, to teach and practife what himself pleases in matters of Religion, without being accountable to any Superior, Ecclefiaftical or Civil, for any mifdemeanours therein. Others are as fierce to have all Ecclesiastical Officers (though immediately Commission'd by our Saviour for the Government of his Kingdom through all Ages ) stript of all manner of Authority in the Christian Church, and all Government of Religion vefted only in the Civil Magistrate Others again were

were neither for its utter Extirpation, nor confining the whole exercise of its Jurisdiction to the Secular Powers, but for dividing it into its feveral Provinces, affigning fome part of it to the Clergy, and some to the Civil State. Because Religion being Instituted chiefly for these two great ends, viz. The advancement of the prefent Peace and Welfare of Manking in this World, and their fafe Conduct and Passage to the State of Bliss and Happinefs in the World to come : fo far as it relates to the prefent quiet of humane Society, it is but fit and necessary it should be subject to the Authority of the Supreme Powers over them, whose proper Duty Truft, and Office it is to provide for the festlement and prefervation of the Publick Peace. And therefore feeing that Religion has a prime and over-ruling influence upon that, fo as either to establish or di-Rurb it by its good or bad management, it concerns them in the first place to encourage fuch Doctrines and Principles, as in their own nature tend to the Peace and Quiet of Government, and to root out fuch false Notions, as incline or induce men to any Turbulent and Seditious practices under any pretences or mi-flakes of Religion. And if any such there be, or if any fuch there have been; nay, 519W

if any fuch there can be, it cannot be deaved by the boldest Libertines, but that in fuch cases the Supreme Magistrate must be allowed power to defend him alf and his Government against their Errors or Follies, by the force and execution of present Laws and Penalties. But then as the Christian Religion aims at the future happiness of the Souls of men, its Conduct and Government is left to a peculiar Order of men, to whom its Founder has entrusted the care of Souls, and for which they are accountable to him alone. For feeing the Kingdom that he establisht was altogether different in its Constitution from worldly Empire: Seeing he appointed Officers void of all Secular Power to preside over it by virtue of his own immediate Authority: And feeing he has engaged a peculiar Providence to be affistant to them in the Government of his Church through all Ages, the case is plain to all Men that believe his Institution, that all Ecclefiastical Power, whatever it is, that concerns the welfare of Mens Souls in the World to come, is entirely vested in the spiritual Guides and Governors of the Church.

It being therefore so manifest, past all contradiction, that in all Christian States, there are and must be from the Nature B 3

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both of Government and Christianity. two distinct Powers, the only difficulty will be fo to determine the Bounds of ch, that they neither interfere in the exercise of their Jurisdiction, nor any way incroach upon each others Authority. An undertaking that has been often attempted by learned Men, but generally with that vehement biass and partiality either way, that has made it a Controversie not for truth but interest. For it being chiefly managed by Divines and Canonists in behalf of the Church, and by Statesmen and Lawyers in behalf of the Common-wealth, each Party have not so much endeavour'd to assign the real Bounds of Truth, as to propagate their own Empire and Dominion. And for this reason is it that the Writers of the Church of Rome fo eagerly and univerfally advance the Ecclefiastical Power. ( the omnipotent Soveraignty of which they fettle in the Pope alone ) as to raife it above the Power of all Sovereign Princes, and all the Powers of the Earth. Neither are they content to make it Superior to all their Authority, but swell it to that exorbitant Greatness, till they swallow up all Empire into its Jurisdiction. And for this very reason the learned that have generally opposed themselves to thefe

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these high and wild pretences, have as generally run into the other Extreme, fo as to take all Ecclefiastical Authority not only from his Holiness and his Court, but from all Ecclesiastical Officers, to whom it was confign'd by our Bleffed Saviour. to the utter destruction of any such thing as a Christian Church. So that in this Partial and in reality Prophane way of managing this great Controversie, they contend not about the true and just grounds of each Province, but both fight for the possession of the whole. In which way of waging War, no other event of it can be expected, then of that irreconcileable fewd between Hannibal and the great Scipio, that either Rome or Carthage must be destroyed, and the Empire of one intirely fubdued to the Dominion of the other. And though some very few have treated of these things with somewhat more temper and moderation, fo as to acknowledge fome kind of Bounds to their respective Jurisdictions, yet they fcarce ever fet and determine them with that Justice and Equality, that the security both of Government and Religion requires; but apparently warp to their own fide, as they incline to, or depend upon the interest of the Civil or Ecclefiastical State. And therefore that is the B 3 great

great and only advantage that I can enfure to my felf above those many so very much more learned Men, that have labour'd in this weighty Argument, that I know my felf to undertake it without being engaged by any prejudice, or biaffed by any Interest, or hired by any Reward then purely the discharge of a good Conscience ( without which the highest pleasure and satisfaction that humane life can afford, were not a tolerable thing; but with it an ordinary State of life with health, is a present Paradice, and state of Happiness.) So that how much foever I come behind others (and I am fensible of a very great distance ) in the advantages of Wit and Learning, yet I shall give place to no Man in freedom and integrity of Judgment. And that alone I am fure is enough to make me Master of my Argument; for if Men would only confider the Nature of the thing it felf, and ab-Aract it from interest and prejudice, that alone would bring them into a right understanding of it. But when instead of looking directly upon their Object as they ought, they labour to fquint and pervert their own Eye-fight, it is their own fault that they lose its natural reprefentation. And this is the very thing that fills the World with so many disputes to

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so little purpose, because Men in their Enquiries will not follow the guidance of things themselves; whereas if they would but be pleased to do so, the truth of every thing is as clear and visible to a diligent Enquirer as Light it felf. There is not any one Argument that is thought more intricate, obscure, and difficult then this that I am now undertaking, and therefore it is for the most part baulkt by the Wife Men of the World, as a point too touchy to be handled, especially because such great and powerful interests are engaged in the Contest, and they are fure to be jealous ( as they ought to be ) of their own Prerogatives, and will hardly fo much as endure to have them touched, much less fetter'd and confin'd. So that this dispute is not only supposed disficult but dangerous, in that it is thought fo hard a matter for the Undertaker not to incur some way or other the displeafure of his Superiours, by his best and most honest performance. And yet after all this wariness and wisdom, if Men would but state the thing only as that states it felf, there is scarce any one Controversie that can be more safe or more easie then its determination. For things are so wonderfully order'd by the wife Providence of God in fettling Christiani-

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ty in the World, that by determining the power of the Church and State, as they are determin'd by his own original Settlement, both Parties may have their own utmost demands, and particularly the Civil Power more then otherwise it could have demanded. And I doubt not but before I have done to give fatisfaction to the highest Pretenders either way, especially on the fide of the State without any invation of the Churches Power. To affign an inherent and independent Power in the Church, distinct from that of the State, and immediately derived, not from the Prince, but our Saviour, and that I am fure is as much as the highest claims to Ecclefiaftical Power can, with any modesty, or without rank dishonesty challenge. But then this being granted, I shall demonstrate, That there is as full and unabated Supremacy in Sovereign Powers over all manner of Ecclefiaftical Authority, as if it had been entirely derived from their own special Grant and Commission: And that certainly is as high a Prerogative as any Prince can care to demandy to have a Sovereign Power over all the Powers within his cown Dominions: So that whether they are derived from his Authority or not, they shall be as entirely Subject to it, as if V7 they

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they had subsisted by no other Charter. And that is as high a Supremacy as Mr. Hobbs himself has been pleased to challenge for Sovereign Princes, when he took away all Power from the Church to vest it in them; for though it is a very gross prophaneness in him to allow no Authority for Religion it felf, then as it is enjoyn'd and made Law by them; yet that Authority that is in the Church by Divine Right, is as absolutely Subject to their Dominion, as it could have been had it been establisht as Mr. Hobbs contends, only by their own Authority. And this State of the Controversie, if it can be made good, I am certain will fatisfie all Parties that can claim any share or degree of Government in Church or State. but most of all the Supreme Powers, to whose Soveraignty all Power, whatsoever it is, or whencesoever derived, is indispenfibly Subjected. As for the Jurisdiction of the Church as fettled by Divine Right, and nothing elfe; I have discoursed of that in former Treatifes, and proved that it is immediately derived from our Saviour himself, and settled unalienably by him upon the Apostles, and their Succesfors the Bishops forever; fo that here I must suppose the Constitution of the Christian Church within it self, and all that that I am bound to do at prefent, is, That fupposing its distinct and independent Authority for granted, to explain how it accommodates and submits it self to the Civil State, and comes under the common obligation of all good Subjects to true Allegiance and Loyalty to the Sovereign Prince.

. U. And here the first and chiefeff thing to be consider'd is, That Christians ty supposes the Power of Princes, Civil Government being fettled in the World from its beginning by the general Providence of God, and antecedently to our Saviour's particular Institution, And there fore as the first thing that our Saviour openly declared, when he enter'd upon his Office, was the erection of his own new Kingdom; fo the next thing that he took care to instruct his Subjects in was, that this his Kingdom was no Kingdom of this World. So that from thence it is evident, that he left the Government of the Kingdoms of this World in the same posture in which they had ever stood, before he came into it. And there fore there could be no alteration, much less abatement of the Civil Government any where upon the fcore of his Authority, otherwise the Institution of his Kingdom TREE

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dom had been a breach upon the Ancient Rights of those Sovereign Powers, in whose Dominions it was erected, which was the first thing that our Saviour whilst himself conversed upon Earth, was careful to avoid. This therefore is to be fer down in the first place, as the Fundamental Article of his Religion, that neither himself, nor any of those that he has deputed for the Government of it, challenge any Temporal Power to themselves, or any exemption from the Authority of those that have it. Neither is this to be lookt upon only as a politive duty, but it is necessary in it self from the nature and the defign of Christianity, which was to fettle a pure Religion in the World by the strength of its own truth and goodness, without any help of worldly power, or mixture of worldly interest, as I have elsewhere shewn at large from the whole ftory of its first fettlement. And therefore agreeable to this great Observation it is very remarkable, That our Saviour himself whilst he convers'd upon Earth, did not only never challenge any kind of Civil Authority to himself, but seiz'd all occasions to defie and disclaim it, as absolutely inconfiftent with his Commission. Thus John 6. 15. When the People, supposing him to be that Temporal Messias that

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that they expected, would have forced him to take the Kingdom upon himfelf he immediately withdrew into a Solitude to shift their importunity. And Luke 12 13, 14. When one folicited him only to take upon him the Authority of an Arbitrator, he perfectly difavows it, as if he were folicitous not to give them the least pretence of Objection against him for his intermedling with the Civil Government, And yet he might lawfully have done it, according to the received custom of the Jews at that time; for in the Babylonif Captivity, to avoid the scandal of Contention before Heathens, they referred all their Controversies to the Rabbies and Doctors of the Law (and fuch an one this Yew supposed our Saviour to have been; as appears by his giving him their proper Title of Master ) and whoever refused to fland to their award, he was Excommunicated their Society, as a scandal to the Tewish Nation. And this priviledge of being their own Judges among themfelves, was granted to them by the Ro mans, and for a long time continued by the Christian Emperors themselves. And therefore though our Saviour might have undertaken this Office by the allowance and permission of the Civil Government; yet to avoid all fuspicions of any fuch im putation,

putation, he protests against it as unbecoming his own Office and Person: And the case is the very same as to the Woman taken in Adultery, Joh. 8. 3. of whom he declares that he had no fuch Authoria ty, as they imagin'd, to pass any Sentence upon her, according to their Law; fo that if the were not legally condemn'd before they brought her before him, she was at liberty for any fuch Power that he had to pass Sentence upon her. But the most remarkable paffage for his disclaiming all Earthly Power, is in his Examination before Pontius Pilate, Joh. 18. 36. to whom he freely confesses, that he is a King, but to prevent his jealousie or mistake, he both immediately declares that his King-

dom is not of this World, \* and clearly explains what he means by it: For, If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews. From which words we understand his evi-

dent meaning when he professes that his Kingdom is not of this World, that it is not endued with any power of the Sword. So that for any of his Officers or Subjects, to make any relistance to the Civil Power by the Sword, in defence of his

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tes, audi circumcifio, audi

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dom, is to destroy the very mature of in Constitution, that confists in this, that it is to be govern'd by the power of Truth and is distinguisht from the Kingdoms of this World, in that it is a Kingdom without the power of the Sword. And there fore for any Officers in it to pretend to any fuch Power by virtue of any Authority or Commission from him, is at once both to dethrone and renounce his Kingly Power, because it is a contradiction to his whole defign in the World, to have either fuch a Kingdom or fuch Subjects And that he further declares to be nothing else then the Institution of Christian Truth in it, by virtue of its own Goodness. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the World, that I should bear Witness unto the Truth; every one that is of the Truth heareth my Voice. That is, all Men that are lovers of true Goodness will voluntarily come into my Kingdom, and fubmit themselves to my Doctrine and Discipline: for that is the evident meaning of that phrase, They that are of the Truth, they that are ingenuous and fincere lovers of it, as in the Epiffe to the Romans, c. 2. v. 8. They that are of the Contention, i. e. Persons that are gi ven up to Contention. So that there is the true State of Christ's Kingdom, that

it is a Ringdom without force within it felf, and has no true Subjects but fuch as freely and of their own accord submit themselves to it out of love to the Goodness of its Government. So that whereas all other Kingdoms fublift by the power of the Sword, his, taken by it felf, and as not complicated with the Civil Government. cannot fubfift with it. And therefore when St. Peter drew his Sword in defence of his Mafter, he commands him to sheath it, because it was a Method inconfiftent with his Defign, Matth. 26.53. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more then Twelve Legions of Angels? If that had been the proper method to compass his design, and to settle his Kingdom, he could eafily have done it by an Army of Angels, but that would have spoil'd the whole work, had he betook himself to any forcible defence, who was to establish an Institution in the World by no other means then its own Truth and Goodness. Many reasons are given of our Saviour's reproof to St. Peter by learned Men of all Factions, to enhance, or abate its obligation; but the only true reason is, that which himself has here given, that it was utterly inconfifent with the nature of his Institution. This was the

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the fense of the Doctors of the Church through all Ages down to the very time of Gratian himself in the year 1150, an hundred years and more, after the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh; fo that though he had declared and practifed against it, it feems his Doctrine could not speedily obtain any great footing in the Christian Church: who treating of the power of the Sword to whom it belongs, determines from this very passage, that of all Men the Officers of the Church have nothing to do with it. De Epifcopis verò vel quibuslibet Clericis, quòd nes sua auctoritate nec auctoritate Romani Pontificis arma arripere valeant facile probatur. Cum enim Petrus, qui primus Apostolorum a Domino fuerat electus, materialem gladium exerceret, ut Magistrum a Judæorum injuria defensaret, audivit [ converte gladium tuum in vaginam : Omnis enim qui gladium acceperit, à gladio peribit ] ac si aperte ei diceretur, bactenus tibi tuisque prædecessoribus inimicos Dei licuit gladio corporali persegui: deinceps in exemplum patientiæ gladium tuum, id eft, tibi hactenus commissum, in vaginam com verte : & tamen spiritualem gladium, quod est verbum Dei, in mactatione veteris vi tæ exerce. Omnis enim præter illum vel auctoritatem ejus, qui legitima potestate utitur,

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utitur, qui, ut ait Apostolus, non fine canta gladium portat, cui etiam omnis anima fubdita effe debet, omnis, inquam, qui præter auctoritatem bujusmodi gladium acceperit. As for Bishops and all gladio peribit. Orders of the Clergy, it is evident that they ought not to take up Arms either by their own, or the Pope's Authority. For when Peter the Prince of the Apo 'ftles brandish't the material Sword, to defend his Master from the violence of the Jews, he heard a Voice, Put up thy 'Sword into its Scabbard, for all that take the Sword shall perish by the Sword. As 'if he had expresly faid, hitherto it has been allowed thee and thy Predecessors (i. e. I suppose the High Priests under the Old Testament ) to punish the Enemies of God with the Corporal Sword, but from this time forward I command thee to sheath it for an example of Patience, and use the Spiritual Sword, which is the Word of God, to Sacrifice the lufts of the old life. For all befide him, or the Authority of him, who is endued with legal Power, and who, as the Apostle fays, bears not the Sword in vain, and to whom every Soul ought to be Subject, every Man, I fay, that draws the Sword without his Authori-

ty, shall perish by it. And this state of

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the question he proves from the Author rity of divers ancient Councils and Popes which I here forbear to recite, because I intend (if God permit) to consider them. in their proper Times and Places, for that is my design as I proceed to reap the whole field of Church Records, and not Glean, as the common Custom is, its scatter'd fragments. Only this passage of the Father of the Canonifts I have here dropt in, to let his modern Followers, that are one and all base flatterers of the Roman Court against all Sovereign Powers, see how enormously they wander from the Text of their own Law, as well as the Holy Bible. But to return, our Saviour having declared to the President what his Kingdom was not, i. e. a Kingdom destitute of Force and the Power of the Sword; he proceeds to declare what it was, viz, a Kingdom of Truth. Which Pilatetaking to be some kind of Stoical Kingdom, for fuch a thing the Stoicks pretended to at an high rate by virtue of their Philofophy he asks him what is the Truth that he professes. But reflecting it seems, with himself, that it was not pertinent for a Judge apon the Bench to enter into a Philesophick dispute with a Prisoner at the Bar he lets fall the Question by not staying for an Answer.

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But beside these evident passages in our Saviour's conversation for disclaiming all Civil Soveraignty, there is one Text, that is usually by mistake applyed to this pura pose, though it relate to a very different matter, and that is Matth. 17. 27. Barclay where our Saviour is supposed to pay Tri- water Mobute to the Roman Collectors, and that is 1.3 p. 15% owning his fubjection to their Govern-salmas. ment. But the Didrachma, the Money defent Reg. there demanded of him, was not Tribute money paid to the Roman Publicans, for we never read of any fuch Tax, but Temple-money paid to the Jewish Priests and their Collectors, for the Use and Service of the Temple, and this continued till the time of Vespatian, who, as Josephus res lates it, imposed upon the Jews this Tax of two Drachms, that they had hitherto paid towards the repairs and annual expences of the Temple at Jerusalem, for the use of the Capitol at Rome. And this explains the true meaning and reason of our Saviour's demur to its payment, when he asks Peter, Whether Princes are wont to take Tribute of their own Children because this Tax for the Temple Service was gather'd in God's Name, and was called God's Tax; as Josephus more then once expresses it, and therefore it was as improper for our Saviour, who was the

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Son-of God, and as it were Prince of the Temple, to pay this kind of Tribute, as it is for an Heir of the Crown to be Taxed by the King his Father, after the fame rate with his other Subjects. But though these Gentlemen have grofly mistaken the Text, their Antimonarchical Adverfaries prophanely abuse it when they pretend, as they unanimously do, That our Saviour paid this Tax for himself and Peter (as they conceit, to Herod, who had converted the Revenue of the Temple to his own use) purely to avoid offence, yet they were not bound to do it, and if Peter, because a Disciple of Christ was here made free from paying burthensom Taxes, so are all-Christians as free as he, and may legally refuse to submit to such Tyrannous Impofitions. As if our Saviour were fuch a Prophet as Mahomet, who headed the Rebellion of the Soldiers against the Emperor Heraclius; or rather such another Messias as Judas of Galilee, who pretended to be sent of God to instruct his People, that they ought not to pay Tribute to the Romans; and as Rabbi Gamaliel informs us, Act. 5. 37. drew away much People after him, whose blood Pilate mingled with their Sacrifices to stop the Contagion of their feditious Doctrines, and declared it High Treason for any Man

Man to teach to it was some seines that it is not lawful to pay Tribute to Cafar. And that very probably was the true ground why the Jews made it the chief Article of our Saviour's Accusation before Pilate, That be perverted the Nation, forbidding them to pay Tribute to Gafar. And it is evident, that it was the craft of the Pharifees and Herodians, when they went about to entangle him with this Question, Whether it was Lawful to give Tribute unto Gasar or not, that they might expose him to the Roman Officers, expecting that he would have declared himself an Assertor of the Jewish Liberty, agreeable to the present Doctrine of the Zealots and the Gaulonites, that It was not lawful to be Subject to any Power but God alone. But he very wifely avoids their frare by answering. That they might ferve God, and pay Tribute to Gafar too; and therefore feeing it appeared by the Inscription upon the Coin, that Cafar was their Sovereign Prince, it was not only lawful but their bounden Duty to pay him Tribute, because it was only to render him what was his Due. And in reality, this whole Transaction between our Saviout and these Trapanning Enquirers, is the clearest state of his Doctrine against relistance to the worst of Princes, upon

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upon any pretence of Religion whatfoever : For Tiberius was then the prefent Emperor, a Man infamous to all Ages for his Fallhood and Cruelty, Luft, and Debauchery, whose whole Reign was nothing but Fraud and Oppression; but a-Jos de Bel-bove all he was most severe to the Jews, to Judaico; and their Religion, banisht them Rome, 2. 6.14 and differfed them into the worst Parts of the Empire. And yet when our Saviour is askt his Opinion concerning fubmission to so brutal a Prince, he has no regard to his Personal Qualifications, but to the Rights of Soveraignty: Whatever the Man is, it is enough that he is your Prince, and after that there is no room left to refift his Impositions And here it is farther to be observed, that the Question and the Answer is general, not Whether it were lawful to pay Tribute to Tiberius only, but to Cafar, to any Emperor; to which the Answer is round and peremptory, Whoever is your Sovereign vou are bound to fubmit to his Impositions, and therefore feeing you own the Emperor for your Sovereign by using the Coin Rampe with his Image ( which is the very badge of Soveraignty in all Nations ) you are as well bound in Duty to fubinit to his Commands, as you are to obey God's and as it is your Duty to

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Worship God, so is it to pay Tribute to the Emperor. But according to our new Hildebrandine and Antichrillian Divinity, our Saviour ought to have answered with more caution, and diffinguisht concerning the Legality of Cafar's Impolitions, and demurr'd upon the Qualification ons of his Person : If he be a good Man and govern according to Law, I would advise you to pay him Tribute : But o therwife, if he be an Oppressor, and his Tax immoderate, relift and take up Arms against the Tyrant; and as you will be faithful to your Country, your Religion, and your Liberties, deliver them from the burden of his Tyrannical Government. This one Principle is the refult of all the Antimonarchical Pleas and Apologies to warrant Refulance; and no doubt it would make wife work in the World, if every Subject might lawfully take up Arms against his Prince, as oft as he is pleased in his own wisdom to find fault with his Government. And yet that, I fay, is the bottom of all Antimonarchical Pretences, that they may, and over to defend their Liberties by force of Arms against the Sovereign Prince, if he do not Govern according to Law: And fo this very Text is glossed by one of the wittiest Patrons of the Cause, Cum Dei fimus,

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i, e. verè liberi, ob camque causam soli Dee reddendi, profetto Cæsari nos, i.e. homini, E præsertim Injusto, Improbo, Tyranno in servitusem tradere sine piaculo, E quidem maximo Sacrilegio non possumus. When we are God's Subjects, and truly free, and are to be accountable to God alone, we cannot deliver up our selves into Cafar's servitude, who is but a Man, but especially if he be Unjust, Wicked, Tyrannical, without Villainy and Sacriledge. A very gentle Gloss this, upon our Saviour's Text, to make it fo far from any fuspition of fin to Rebel against unjust, or wicked Princes, that not to destroy them and their Tyranny were Villainy, Sacriledge, and Treason against God himself. And thus, if this Gloss be once admitted, is our Saviour made an open Gaulonite, declaring himself and all his followers free from the unjust exactions of Sovereign Powers: which is only to charge him with that very Crime that his most implacable Enemies would have fastened upon him. So prophane are these Men forced to be in their wickedness, as to juftific Treason by Blasphemy, and no Blasphemy can be ranker then to make our Saviour a Patron of Rebellion. But because this Gloss looks too bold, they

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That our Saviour did not Answer, but only baulk and involve the Question, in that there is no confequence that the Money was Cafar's because stampt with his Impression, for then all that we have would for the same reason be Casar's too. But as the Gloss accuses our Saviour of breach of honesty, by making him invade the Power of the Sword when he had disclaim'd it; so this evasion charges him with defect of understanding, as if our Saviour had been to weak as to argue Cafar's Title of Propriety from his Inscription. Whereas any Man of Common fense, if he will not industriously pervert it, cannot but understand that our Saviour argues from the known Custom of all Nations in the World, to stamp their Coin with their King's Image, fo that the piece of Money that they shewed him bearing Cafar's Picture, that was an Evidence that he was their Sovereign Lord, and therefore were they bound to fubmit to him in all his Commands that were not inconfistent with the Law of God; and paying of Tribute not being fo, it was not only no fin, but a necessary Duty, or, as St. Paul expres- Rom. 130 fes it, in pursuance of his Masters Precept, 6, 7. exhorting and commanding the Christians to pay Tribute not only for Fear, but for

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for Conscience fake, and because it is

This Sense is fo very plain and that voidable, that nothing but malitious dif-ingenuity could pervert it; and the truth of it is, this fort of men feem to take a kind of Pride and Delight in infulting over the Holy Scriptures, and make them ridiculous by their own imperious gioffes to avoid their force, as we shall see as we proceed. But at prefent to give one example for all, there are among them that blush not to prove our Saviour's Civil Dominion over the Kings of the Earth from the bleffed Virgins Song. He hath defeated the Proud in the imagination of their hearts, he hath put down the Mighry from their Seat, and bath exalted the bumble and meek. In which words the glorifies the Goodness and Wisdom of God, that he was pleafed that his Son should be born of a poor despised Maid. and not as the great Men of the World expected, of them that fate upon the Thrones of the Earth; from which humble and grateful piece of Devotion to infer, that the rejoyced and triumphed in the Prospect of that Confusion that her Son should bring upon the World, by fubverting and pulling down all the effablifut Governments in it; and erecting every

every where new Kingdoms and Principalities by his own Prerogative; tis fo rude an imposing, not only on this particular passage, but upon the whole Tenor of the Gospel it felf, and the nature of our Saviours Office, as argues a strange height either of Pride or Prophaneness. For nothing can be more evident from all the preceding passages, and the whole Scope of the -Gospel, then our Saviour's disclaimour of any pretence to any Temporal Authority. And the truth of it is, if he had laid claim to any fuch Power, his Religion had stood upon no better Foundation than that of Mahomet, that was at first planted and propagated, and has hitherto been maintain'd by nothing but the power of the Sword. Whereas the Defign of our Saviour's Institution was pure and unmixt Religion, and therefore abetted it felf and its Laws by no other Sanctions, then only the rewards and punishments of the life to come. And the fame Power that he claim'd and exercis'd himself, and no other, he devolved upon his Apostles, from them to descend to their Successors to the end of the World; fo that all their power, whatever it is, being derived from him, is of the fame nature with that, which thimself whilst on Earth challenged as Head of his Church. And yet it is plain that

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as Head of his Church he was fo far from challenging any superiority over the Powers of the World, that he profest nothing more frankly than an entire fubjection to them. And therefore Sovereign Princes cannot be properly faid to be velted with any power under our Saviour as fuch, for as it is evident that they are velted with a Supremacy of Power antecedent to his Inflitution, fo is it as evident that he acver gave them any Commission for the Government of his Kingdom. That power was given to his Apostles, that were as much fubject to the Civil Gdvernment as himself had even been ; fo that as he could give them no Temporal Power because he had, or rather would have none, It is plain that neither they nor their Successors could pretend to any by vertue of his Commission. What he enjoys in Heavenas the Son of God, whatever it is is peculiar to himself upon the account of this Divinity, but he has communicated no other to his Church on Bortle then Awhat himfelf claim'd whil'ft the remained in it, which was purely spirirost in order to a Future State, but void of all Temporal Power and Coercion. So that it is but a crude expression ( not world it prophane, because it is so common by customary mistake ) to affirm that Kings

Kings are Supream Governors under Christ They are and ever were fo under God but so as to be superiour to Christ, as Christ is Head of his Church within their Dominions. For as Head of his Church he ever own'd himself subject to the Temporal Powers. And therefore what absoluteness of power soever he enjoys by vertue of his Divine Nature, yet as the Meffas or the Mediator of the new Covenant (for as fuch he was man, I Tim. 2. 5. ) or as the Head and Founder of the Christian Society, he strips both himself and his Officers of all pretences to and advantages of Temporal Power. The reason of it we must carry with us all along, because it is the Essential thing peculiar to his Institution, that it might be able to fublist purely upon its own strength, and maintain it felf purely by vertue of its own Goodness, and that not only without the Affishance, but against the utmost Oppofition of all Worldly Power. And there-fore the wife Providence of God fo order'd things, that it was fent into the World under all difadvantages, but only of its own Truth and Goodness. And by that alone it prevailed over all the World, before it had the least countenance from the Civil Powers, nay whilst it was with all their Arength, zeal, and malice oppress

by them. And this is the only thing that made it pure Religion, and distinguisht it from all other Religions in the World: whereas had it any certain Temporal advantage annext to it as fuch. men had been invited to embrace it as matter of Interest, and not of Conscience, and then it had become Worldly Policy, and ceased to have been Religion. That then is the first Principle upon which our whole Christianity lies, that all the Advantages, Priviledges, and Preheminences, that the Church can pretend to derive from our Saviour are purely Spiritual, relating only to the State of Souls in the World to come. And if the Church any where enjoy any other Dignities or Jurifdictions, it derives them wholly from the Grants and Charters of Soveraign Princes, who may endow them with what Priviledges themselves think convenient, as they may any other Order of their Subjects. And what Powers or Priviledges all States that profess Christianity, are bound by that profession to settle upon the Church, I shall shew in its proper place, but whatever they are, the Church cannot challenge them by it's Original Charter. So that if any Church shall be so presumptuous as to pretend to any fuch Power, which way foever it

comes in, whether directly or indirectly. by vertue of our Saviour's Commission. that is not only a Contradiction to the Nature of Christianity, but an Atheistical Abuse put upon the whole Design of the Institution. But as to pretend to any fuch Power from our Saviour only over Subjects is no less then Blasphemy against him; fo to pretend to it over Soveraigns, doubles the Blasphemy by adding the Sin of Rebellion to that of Impiety, and utterly destroys not only the Being and Constitution of a Christian Church. but of all humane Societies. So that how many Marks foever there may be of a true Church, this alone is an infallible Note of a false one. And therefore every Church that refuses to disclaim any Temporal Power over Princes, renounces the Christian Faith, and forfeits all the Rights and Priviledges of a Christian Church; but if it should be so vain as openly to claim any fuch power, it bids open defiance to our Saviour, and quits him and his Religion to follow Mahemet. So that there is no one thing in the World can so effectually unchurch a Church, as its claiming any Temporal Authority to it felf, especially over Soveraign Powers. And this I doubt will light very feverely upon the Bishops of Rome ever since the Hildebrandine

Hildebrandine Apostacy, viz. That the Pope as Vicar of Christ, has a power of deposing Soveraign Princes, and absolving Subjects from their Allegiance; this they have own'd whenever they durft, and pur in practice whenever they could, and would never be brought upon any Terms to condemn it, which Doctrine certainly is the greatest unkindness that they can do themselves, and the worst thing that their greatest Enemies could defire to object against them; and if any thing can prove his Holiness to be Antichrist, this is the thing, because it is an utter Subversion of the whole State of Christianity, and makes our Saviour a false Christ by making him a Temporal Messias, and placing him in the head of an Army to fubdue the Princes and Nations of the World into fubjection to himself. I am fure for this very reason does the Learned Cardinal Baronius make Mahomen the Type of Antichrist, because he promoted his Religion over several parts of the

Mannum, World by force of Arms, Quod armorum

50. 14 potentia tot provincias nullo fermè negotio
per suos posteros ejusdem secta homines subjugasset. He would have done well to
have applyed this Censure nearer home,
and then he would not have justified all
the Rebellious Popes in their violencies
and

and outrages, that they acted against Sove raign Princes, and yet no man has done it with more diligence then himself, as I shall prove when I come to consider his Performance. Neither will this Charge of Apostacy light only upon the Church of Rome, but upon every Church that maintains a right of relistance to Soveraign Powers upon a pretence of Christian Religion whatfoever, for that is still to take to themselves such a power against their Prince by our Saviours Authority, which is the same direct contradiction to the Nature of the Christian Faith, and the same fort of Apostacy from Christianity to Mahumetism, putting a Scymeter into our Saviours hand, and under his pretended conduct waging War against their lawful Soveraign, and that is the greatest dishonour that they can bring to their Master or themselves, And yet we shall find some other Churches as much guilty of this Apostacy both in Doctrine and Practice as that of Rome, and though Rome and they stand at the greatest distance of Enmity, out of Jealousie of one another who should carry the prize; yet they both fully agree in this fundamental Antichristian Principle. Charge will come home in its proper place, at present we must take this Article

of faith all along with us. No Temporal Authority in the Church unless from the grant of the State.

6. III. But then fecondly it must be granted too, that the Power of Princes. how great foever in Church matters, fupposes the Spiritual Authority of the Church, that was as much fettled by our Saviour, without any dependency on the Authority of the State, as the Authority of the State was fettled by the Providence of God, before there was any fuch thing as a Christian Church in the World. that it is undeniably evident from its original Constitution, that the Church subfifts no more upon the State as to its proper Power, then the State upon the Church. For as the Christian Church came into the World, after the Civil Government of States was entirely fettled in it, fo did the World come into the Church after its Government was as entirely fixed within it felf. And therefore as Christianity by its coming into the World ought no manner of way to abate the Civil Power of the State, fo neither when the Powers of the World come into the Church, ought they to diminish any thing of that Authority, that it enjoyed by Divine Commission before they came

came into it. For they are received into it upon the fame terms with all other Profelytes of the Christian Faith, that they fubmit themselves to it as our Soviour's own Institution. So that as our first point is, That all Sovereign Princes have, or ought to have, an Imperial Supremacy over all Ecclefiastical Persons, and in all Ecclefiastical Causes; Our second is, That this Supremacy, which is the highest Power that can be on Earth, is no Ecclefiaftical, but a Civil Supremacy. For befide that, it would be a dishonour to degrade a Sovereign Prince to the Prieftly Office: The Ecclefiaftical Power is purely Spiritual, and that is a Power that was never challenged by any Prince, nor directly given by any Man (though it is fo by plain and undeniable confequence by all that disown an Inherent Authority in the Church, from our Saviour's own Commission ) but only Mr. Hobbs, who as he made the Prince his own Priest, made him his own God too. Now these two Principles laid together, clear up the Nature and Title of the Supremacy of Sovereign Princes, That it is none of that Spiritual Power that is lodged in the Church, but a Temporal Supremacy over all the Spiritual Power of it, within his own Dominions. And now if thefe Dz twe

two Principles, that are as certain as Christianity it felf, were but calmly attended to, they would perfectly filence all the clamours of both the extreme Parties in this Controversie. Those of the Church of Rome must cease their noise, that we make the King a Bishop, by acknowledging his Supremacy in all Ecclefiastical Causes, and over all Ecclesiastical Persons, when upon this State of the Question fuch a Supremacy over all things and persons within their Dominions, is infeparable from all Sovereign Power, and Christianity, and all the Power that it brings along with it, comes into the World upon its supposition: So that by it we are so far from making the King a Priest, that without it, we cannot own him to be our King. And on the other fide, when we affert a Spiritual Power to the Church, distinct from, though subject to the King's Supremacy, others cry out Popery, Pramunires, and I know not what hard names, they would foon let fall their out-cry, if they would confider that it is fuch a Power as never any Prince exercised, or wittingly challenged (though it is possible that some may have run upon it by mistake) and is neither Temporal nor Foreign Jurisdiction. And in those two points lies the malignity

lignity of the pretended Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; for as it is Temporal, it plainly fubjects the Regal Authority to its Empire; and as it is Foreign, it makes the whole Kingdom Feudatory, and brings us into the form of a Province under an Italian Prince; both which are fuch abuses of Government, as evidently subvert it. Nay farther, as a Foreign Temporal Jurisdiction is inconsistent with the English Monarchy; so is all kind of Foreign Jurisdiction, though meerly Spiritual, irreconcileable with the Prerogative Royal. The reason and the account whereof, I shall give in its proper place, when I come to state that easie, but yet undiscover'd Point of the Divine Authority of National Churches. All that I am obliged to at present is to shew the difference between that Authority that we affign to the Church of England, and that which the Bishop of Rome would Usurp; against which though there were nothing else to be objected but its being Foreign, for that reason alone it ought to be banisht the Nation as an Enemy to the Civil Government. Whereas the Authority of the Church of England is feated in the King's own Subjects, who can call them to an account for it, if they use it to his own or his Subjects prejudice,

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dice, and can as well punish them for any disorders in the abusive Exercise of it, as he can any of his own Officers for their misdemeanors in their trust in the Common-wealth. So that fo far is the King's Supremacy, as it is stated in the Church of England, from entrenching upon the proper Power of the Church, as the Romanists cavil, that it only protects it in the due exercise of its Jurisdiction: And fo far is the proper power of the Church from disclaiming or abating any thing of the King's Supremacy, as the other Factions clamour, that it first Establishes that upon the most lasting Foundations of Divine Institution, before it makes any claim to its own Power, and when it does, it does it upon no other Terms, then of entire fubmiffion to its Supreme Authority. And now that Man must wilfully dream, that can imagine fuch a power as this in the Church, can be any way prejudicial to, or detractive from the Civil Government; and yet that fuch a Power there is, is an affertion worth no less then our Christianity it self, that stands or falls with it. For if our Saviour have not entrusted his Church with a Power within it felf, fufficient to maintain it felf by vertue of his own Authority, then it flands upon no stronger Foundation then the

the Will of the Sovereign Power. And then as that can Establish, so it can Abrogate its whole Obligation; which is plainly to fay, that it is no True Religion, for it is certainly none if it relye only upon humane Authority. So that all that can be concluded in this case is, that upon supposition that our Christian Faith is an Imposture, there can be no Power in the Christian Church, and that for a very good reason, because then the Church can be no Church. But upon supposition that our Saviour founded it by Divine Authority, the peculiar Power of the Church derived meerly and immediately from himself, without any interpolition of humane Authority, is the first thing to be believed as absolutely necessary to its Being and Subfiftence.

But this will appear with a brighter evidence, if we consider the several branches of Jurisdiction, that as they are complicated with the supposition of Christianity, so are they such acts of Power as no Sovereign Power ever challenged, or can with any decency exercise. As the Power of Preaching the Gospel through all Nations of the World, in the Name, and by the Authority of God: The Power of granting, or with-holding the Instruments of Grace, the Sacraments of

Baptism and the Eucharist: The Power of the Keys, or judging who are fit to be admitted into the Society of the Christian Church, and who ought to be cast out of it for non-performance of the Conditions undertaken at their Admittance: The Power of instructing the People in the Duties of Religion, or guiding and directing them in the fafest way to Salvation: The Power of Ordaining, Confecrating, and Constituting Ecclesiastical Officers, to fucceed in the Government of the Church through all Ages. Thefe are the feveral points of their Commiffion, and are granted to be fo by Mr. Hobbs himself, and that at the very time when he undertakes to demonstrate, that all these acts of Power are no acts of Authority. And that is one of his choisest methods of Demonstration in all things, to bear down the undenyable Truth of all things by meer force of Affertion; thus here he reckons up the chief Acts of Authority in the Apostle's Commission, and then will bear us down that they are no Acts of Authority, only by faying fo, and that against the Common Sense of Mankind. For if they had a Commission from our Saviour to do these things, then were they Empowred and Authorised by their Commission to do them. So abfurd

Leviath. part. 3. cap. 42. furd a thing is it to talk of acting by Come mission without acting by Power, whereas every Commission as such, is granting fo much Power. And therefore if the Apostles and their Successors were Commissioned by our Saviour to these several Acts of their Office (as he grants, because it cannot be denyed ) every Act is an effect of that Power that is fettled upon them by virtue of their Commission. And is it not strange, that this witty Gentleman should begin all this Extrayagant discourse against all Power Ecclefiaftical as fuch, with this very Affertion, That the Power Ecclefiastical was at first in the Apostles, and after them in such as received it from the Apostles by successive laying on of hands. What thickness of Contradiction is this, A Power Ecclefiaflical, and yet no Power at all ? Why then if it be no Power, it is no Power Ecclesiastical, and if it be a Power Ecclefiastical, then it is some Power. And then again a Power by virtue of our Saviour's Commission, i. e. a Power warranted by Divine Authority; and to fay that this is no Power, is plainly to avert, That there is no fuch thing as Divine Authority. And upon this supposition that lies at the bottom of all this witty Authors folly and Philosophy, it must be con-

confessed, that there can be no Ecclesiastical Power over the Christian Church. either in the Clergy or any Man elfe, because upon it there is neither Christian Church nor Christian Religion, and then it is certain, that there can be no Power over nothing. So vain are all the Attempts against that Authority that our Bleffed Saviour has granted to the Apostolical Succession, that it cannot be removed by any other Principles, then what directly overthrow Christianity it felf, upon those Terms it must be parted with, but upon no other. And though Mr. Hobbs speaks out more boldly then his Neighbours, yet all the followers of Era-Aus, and all that will own a certain Form of Government establisht in the Church by Divine Right, cannot avoid the Church of Leviathan. And therefore to proceed with him as Fore-man to speak for all the rest, it is evident that beside the Authority, by which the Apostles and their Successors act, every act that they are enabled to by their Commission, is in its own Nature, and as fuch an Authoritative AC.

First, such is the power of Preaching, and Teaching, i. e. the power of publishing the Laws of the Gospel to all Nations, and requiring all Mens Obedience

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to them under the fanction of the greateft Rewards and Penalties. And if Mr. Hobbs can affirm that exacting Obedience upon fuch terms be no piece of Authority, it is in vain either to reason with himself, or any other Man of his Kidney or Understanding. But he proves it to be fo, because The Apostles were Preachers, and Preachers are Cryers, and Cryers have no right to Command. Among the many bad qualities in this Author's way of writing, his contempt of other Mens understandings is none of the least, for if he had not a very low Opinion of their intellectual Abilities, he could never have prefumed to impose upon them by fuch childish pretences. And the truth of it is, he talks, not as if he discoursed to Men, but to Magpies, Parots, and Jackdaws, that are to learn to chatter his Dictates by Rote. For is it not a strange groffness of Confidence, that when our Bleffed Saviour came from God to publish a new Law to the World, and enforce it with the feverest Penalties, and when he gave the fame Commission to his Apoftles that himself had received from his Father, to publish this Law to the World, though they do it with all this Authority to infer, that they do it with none at all, because when they declare their Message. they they open their mouths as Cryers do when they make Proclamations, and fo the original Word fignifies any kind of publick Declaration. And what if it were the proper term for the Cryers Office, it may for all that, in common Speech be applyed to any other way of Publication; it will be hard to find out any one word in the World fo feverely stinted to its original Import. However every School-boy could have inform'd the old Philosopher that this word is not to confin'd, and that it is not, is evident from the very passage it felf, because the Apostles that are faid to Proclaim or Cry the Gospel to all Nations, do not make a fimple Proclamation, but require Obedience to what they publish under the most forcible obligation of Rewards and Punishments. And fuch Proclamation as that, whatever the term Proclaiming may fignifie in its naked fenfe, brings with it as much Authority as it is possible for Government to put in practice. But he farther affirms, in proof of no Authority in the Church, That the Apostles and other Ministers of the Gospel are our School-Masters, and not our Commanders. But beside that this is an Arbitrary Affertion of his own devising, to assign them the Office of School-Masters, for the Scripture

ture no where does fo: The Authority of a School-Master is some Authority, for though he have not the Power of the Sword, he has that of the Rod, and that is as effectual for his purpose among Boys, as the other among Men. So that there is no Logique in the Argument, neither can I believe fo witty a Man to have been fo weak as to have brought it for that purpose, but rather because he thought the comparison was a witty flur upon Christianity, as if it were as childish and contemptible an Office to instruct men in it, as it is to teach Boys and Children their Elements of Speech. That is a fhrewd hint, though the next comparifon is much more poinant, That our Saviour compares Preaching to Fishing, i. e. to winning Men to Obedience, not by coertion and punishing, but by perswasson, and therefore our Saviour calls not Apostles hunters of Men, but fishers of Men. Now. though his endeavour to prove that there is no Authority in the Officers of the Church, because they have no Civil Authority, is altogether vain and trifling, because he only presumes what no Man will grant him, that there is no other Authority in the World; yet here his way of demonstration is somewhat more then usually pleasant, viz. That they were endued

endued with no power of Coertion, because our Saviour has constituted them. not his Huntsmen, but his Fishermen: Where I think it would require the Acuteness of Mr. Hobbs's wit to make it out, why there is less Coertion in Fishing, then in Hunting, especially in Net-fishing, which was their former Trade, to which he knows our Saviour there alludes; when this mighty difficulty is cleared up, I may come to understand the force of the Argument, but till then, I must confess it is above my reach. But hitherto it is evident that notwithstanding all this Gentleman's Grammatical Demonstrations from Cryers, School-Masters, and Fishers, that the Commission granted to the Apostles and their Success fors to preach the Gospel, did not only carry proper Authority in it, but the highest fort of Authority, because enforced with the greatest Rewards and Penalties, and that every man knows is the very Life and Soul of all Power.

The next branch of their Commission is to Baptize in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and though the Philosopher would here make himself merry, not only with the Sacrament, but with the Holy Trinity, in whose Name it is Administred, yet after all his pains

pains to prove it no Authority, he fairly confesses. That it is an Authority either to Baptize, or refuse to Baptize, because Baptism is the Sacrament of Allegiance, of them that are to be received into the Kingdom of God. But certainly if they have Power to grant or deny them this Sacrament, i. e. to receive them into the Kingdom of God, or shut them out of it, if there be any fuch thing as Power in the World, there cannot be a greater And confequent to this Authen this. thority, he fays, is the Remission and Retention of Sins, or the Power of Loofing and Binding, and for this, I must confess he gives a pertinent reason ( for so he is forced to do fometimes, meerly by the truth of things against his own petulant design ) For seeing to Baptize is to Declare the reception of Men into Gods Kingdom, and to refuse to Baptize is to declare their Exclusion; it followeth, that the Power to declare them cast out, or retained in it, was given to the Apostles, and their Substitutes and Successors. And so it does unavoidably, for they being received upon certain conditions, those that received them upon promise of performing those Conditions, must have a standing and perpetual Power to judge of their performance, and accordingly either

ther to continue them in the Church or Kingdom of God, or cast them out. But would not one take the Man to be bereft of his Wits, that should rave and talk of nothing but the Authority and Power of these Acts, whilst he is eagerly disputing against their being Acts of Power and Authority. Such is the inconfistency of Mr. Hobbs's rovings, and how can he help it, whilft he would make the Testimony of the Gospel to destroy Christianity it felf, for that is the folly of his undertaking in the Leviathan, that he would make the Christian Faith appear a forgery, and prove it so by the Scriptures. A contradiction fo round, as could never have met in any Mans head that had not fquar'd the Circle and Demonstratively proved from one and the same Topick, there must, and that there must not be a God. Both which he hath confidently undertaken, and in his opinion perform'd, and I believe may fooner do it, then prove the greatest Acts of Power in the World to be no Acts of Power at all.

But after Mr. Hobbs has, in fpight of himself, granted all that Authority to the Church that he would deny, and that the Church can demand, his next work is to render it useless and ridiculous. For first

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first he would place it in the People, but that I shall not at present dispute with him or any other, that deny the diffinet Power of the Church, for whether it be in the People or not is all one to their Affertion that it is no where, and the Seat of it is another question that suppoles its being somewhere. Only by the way it is observable, how Mr. Hobbs through his whole Book shelters his Prophaneness under the then Reigning Principles of Independency; and the truth is, that wild Confusion of things is a fit Protection for all forts of folly and wickedness. For when the Rabble are made Supreme Judges in any Cause, as they are by the Independent Principles of all Caufes both in Church and State, that is breach wide enough for the Trojan Horse to enter, and leaves the Government of both at the mercy of all manner of Madness and Sedition. For the whole myflery of the project concludes in this, to leave every Man at liberty to do what he pleases, without being accountable for his actions to any Superiours; and that is in express terms to abolish all Government, and even break up Families themfelves. But though it be advantage enough to subvert the Government, it is much more to invert it: For all Refolution

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tion of Government into the People fets the Feet upon the Head, and the part govern'd above the part governing: And the refult of it, when reduced to practice, is to fet up one Great and Royal Slave as a mark for the infolence of the Multitude. And whenever they are put upon it by Ambitious Men to challenge their original Soveraignty; if the Prince have the ill luck to fall into their hands, they -will be fure to treat him with a more haughty barbarity then they would any other ordinary Person, thereby to shew the greatness of their native Power. And the wretch that durst be so impudent as to fpit in his Sovereign's face, perhaps would have form'd to have offer'd the fame Indignity to a fellow-fubject; that had been but a common act of Power, and only an affront to an equal; but to offer to great an indignity to a Sovereign Prince, -was truly becoming one that understood the native greatness of his own Birthright, being by the original right of Nature a more absolute Prince then the greatest Monarch in the World of the Peoples Creating. So that upon these terms of putting the Supreme Power into the Hands or the Heads of the People, 'tis to tell the Subjects, that no Man has any Right or Power to Govern them, but as themthemselves think good to be Govern'd; that is, in a word, that they are under no

Government at all.

But fecondly, Mr. Hobbs is not content with fetling this Sacred Power in the prophane Rabble, unless he make it more idle and ridiculous, as a Power of no use and effect in it felf; because, says he, Excommunication, which is the only Penalty by which it abets it self, is of no effect upon an Apostate, having nothing of Damage or Terrour in it; not of Terrour, because of bis unbelief; nor of Damage, because in times of Persecution he is return'd thereby into favour with the World: And in the World to come is in no worse Estate, then they which never believed. It is an hard task to struggle against common Sense, it forces a Man in every breath to choak himself with swallowing his own words. Thus here by Excommunication, he tells tis, That a Man is put into an Estate, wherein his fins are not forgiven, and so excluded the Kingdom of Heaven. As great a punishment as can be inflicted upon humane nature, if there be any punishment in Hell; and yet according to Mr. Hobbs it is none at all, if Men will not be afraid of it. But whether they will or will not, if Christianity be not a Lye (which though he believed not, he could E 2 not

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not suppose, for the Discourse, if it be any thing, proceeds all along upon that fupposition ) the punishment is the same in it felf, and has naturally the fame effect. And if some Men at present are so hardy as to despise it, as some are to out-brave all the punishments of this World, till they over-reach them, yet when it comes to be actually inflicted, they feel its fmare as feverely as the more timerous and cowardly Offenders. But when he fubjoins, that it can be of no effect in the World to come, because it puts them into no worse Estate, then they had been in, if they had never believed. Is not that a Condition bad enough? When by his belief he obtain'd Remission of his Sins. and a Right to the Kingdom of Heaven, and when by his Apostacy he is returned back into a State of Condemnation. And is the difference of these two States so fmall, that the loss of one should be no Damage, and the fuffering of the other no Punishment ? But beside this, the State of Apostacy is much worse then that of Infidelity, because Apostates sin more or less against the Convictions of their own Conscience, and that is the highest Aggravation of all fins, whereas Men may remain in Infidelity, through negligence, r want of enquiry, which though a fault,

is by no means so disingenuous as acting against knowledge. But as for this Case of Apostates in time of Persecution, upon whom, Mr. Hobbs fays, Excommunication could have no effect of Terrour. indeed the Providence of God had not given them fufficient evidence of their Faith, I will grant it to be true, not only of that, but of all the other Threatnings. of the Gofpel. But if God have given sufficient motives of belief, ( as if the Gospel be not a cheat, he has, if it be, all Mr. Hobbs's dispute is without bottom ) a Man's Apostacy is no Fence against the Reflections of his own Conscience. For though it is in his Power to deny his Faith for fear of Persecution, yet it is not in his Power to disbelieve it. So that upon fuch a Man the Sentence of Excommunication, by which he is cast out of the Kingdom of Heaven, lights with as much Terrour as upon any other Believer. And there is nothing more evident in the History of the Primitive Church, then the Efficacy of this Sentence upon fuch Offenders. For the greatest part of those that fell in time of Perfecution, were by this means alone recover'd to the Church, brought to fue for pardon, and undergo very severe Penances, as a fatisfaction for the Scandal.

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But to what purpose do I put my self to the trouble to prove these things, when all Mr. Hobbs's discourse upon this Argument, runs upon this supposition, as if Christianity were but a trivial and indifferent thing, that might, or might not be believed as Men variously fancied, or were cafually inclined: And upon that supposition I will freely grant it to be of as little effect as he would have it. But if the Providence of God hath given us fuch a Demonstrative Evidence of the Divine Authority of this Religion, that no Man, who inquires into it, can wink. against its Light, without doing violence to his own Convictions, then whether Men will or no, it will be a perpetual Terrour to their Consciences. this flight Opinion of the Evidence of Christianity (though upon what slight, and indeed ignorant pretences I have elsewhere shewn ) is the bottom of Mr. Hobbs's meaning, is too manifest from his next branch of the Supremacy of Sovereign Powers, which indeed is neither better nor worfe then bare-faced Blasphemy. And that is the Power of making Scripture Law, i. e. Obligatory: But if that be the state of the Christian Religion, that it is not at all material, whether a Man regard it or not, for any Obligation

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tion or Authority in it felf. Mr. Hobbs is not to be blamed, unless in point of Prudence, for all those irreverend abuses. that he has been pleased to put upon it. But if it be made Law by the Command of God, as it is, if it be not all imposture in pretending falfly to his Authority, then whatever the Sovereign is pleafed to make of it, Mr. Hobbs and all his Followers, that will allow it no obligation but from Man, stand Convicted of the most manifest Treason and Blasphemy against the Sovereign Lord of all, and this part of Ecclefiaftical Supremacy of making Scripture Law, that they give to Kings, they take away from God himfelf. After all this rank prophaneness, it is almost needless to consider his last branch of Ecclefiaftical Power, viz. the Right of Ordaining, and Constituting Ecclesiastical Officers, not only because it is of the same Nature and derived from the fame Divine Authority, with all the other particulars of the Apostolical Commission, but because himself grants it in general by placing it in the People. For if it be any where, that is enough against himself, that denies all manner of Power in the Church, but most of all because he has confessed (and no Man can deny it ) the whole truth of the matter both against the E 4 HobHobbist and the Independant too; viz. That the Apossels conveighed their Authority to their Successors, whom themselves Deputed and Ordained by Imposition of hands, and if so, this Power of constituting Successors resided in them alone, because no Man could be constituted an Officer in the Church, but by their Imposition of hands, or those to whom by it they Transmitted their Power. So that whatever interest they might permit the People in their Choice or Nomination of their Officers, the whole power of Constituting them in their Office and Authority lay in themselves alone.

S. IV. But Mr. Hobbs having hitherto treated of the Power Ecclefiastical, as it stood before the Conversion of Kings. and Men endued with Sovereign Civil Power: and after his rate of Demonstration proved it to be no Power at all whilft vested in the Pastors of the Church; he comes now to prove, that it is lodged in Civil Sovereigns, upon their Conversion to the Christian Faith, and that when it comes to them, it becomes true and proper Power. But before I confider his fmall Arguments, I cannot understand why that which was no Power before, becomes Power now: There can be but one

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one reason for it, and that is too obvious in all Mr. Hobbs's Writings, viz. Because it is now abetted with the Penalties of this life, whereas before it was only abetted with the Penalties of the life to come : so that the plain English of the Assertion, if spoken out, is this, that there are no penalties at all but in this life, and then I must confess, that the power of the Church can be no Power till complicated with the Civil Power. But the man that discourses upon such Principles as these, has nothing to do with the Chriflian Religion, or any thing relating to it. But fecondly, Which way came this Power into Civil Sovereigns ? Our Saviour left it to his Apostles, and they delivered it down by Imposition of Hands to others, who were to conveigh it in the fame manner of Succession through all Ages, how then came Civil Sovereigns by it? If any were Ordain'd to it, they had it by virtue of their Ordination, not their Right of Sovereignty; if they were not, which way could they become poffessed of a Power, that was never derived to them in the way of Ordination, which is the only way in which it can be conveighed, and therefore if they have it not that way, they can never have it any other. As for the Principle upon which

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which he founds this Power of the Civil Sovereign, though it be true in it felf, yet it is no proper reason for what he would infer from it, viz. That the Right of judging what Doctrines are fit for Peace, and to be taught the Subjects is in all Common-wealths inseparably annexed to the Sovereign Power Civil. This is undoubtedly true, that they are the proper Judges of what conduces to the peace and quiet of Government; but then this Power is common to Heathen as well as Christian Soveraigns, they are all equally concern'd, and obliged to take care of the Publick Peace; fo that this Power does not accrue to the Civil Sovereign by his becoming Christian, but was antecedently and inseparably annex'd to the Sovereign Power. And therefore 'tis but a vain distinction that Mr. Hobbs makes of the Ecclefiaftical Power of Princes, before and after the Conversion of Civil Sovereigns. When before it, they have all a right of judging what Do-Arines are fit for Peace, that being infeparably annex't to all Sovereign Power; and after it, they have no more as Sovereign Princes. And then if the Ecclesiaftical Power rested in the Apostles and their Successors before the Conversion of Civil Sovereigns, it must do so ever after, for

for they could not lose that Power that was left them by our Saviour, any other way, but by his own actual transferring it to another; which he having not done. it continues, as and where it was first fetled. So that Sovereigns as Christian, as they lose no Power they gain none, their Power is in both Cases Supreme from the nature of Sovereignty. But befide all this, because they have a right to judge of all things, as far as they concern the Civil Peace, it is an inference that only becomes Mr. Hobbs's Principles, to conclude that this gives them a power of judging what is fittest to promote the Salvation of their Subjects Souls in the World to come. And yet that is the true and proper Province of Ecclefiaftical Power, fo to guide and govern the Church in this World, as to bring the Members of it to Heaven hereafter. And that is fomewhat more then meerly to provide for the Civil Peace, and therefore a right to that, cannot give any right to this, especially when it is by express Commission settled in another order of Men. All True Religion is indeed very ferviceable to the Interests of Peace and Government, and fo far it concerns the Civil Power, as fuch, to abett its force with Civil Laws. But then it has

has a much farther prospect into the World to come, and the care of that is committed by our Saviour to a particular Order of Men Confecrated to that Office. How this Power comes not to interfere with the Civil, but is subject to it, will be shewn in the next place, but our present business is only to affert its Right. And that is so apparent from the whole design and nature of Christianity, that it cannot fubfift without it. For if our Saviour enacted the Christian Law and founded the Christian Church, not by Civil but Divine Authority; if he Instituted the Apostles and their Successors to govern it, then their Right of Government stands upon the same bottom with the truth of Christianity. And if it be true that the Christian Church was planted in the World by Divine Authority, it is as true, that they have a right to Govern it by the fame Authority. fo undeniable to common Sense, that Mr. Hobbs has no way to avoid it, but by denying our Saviour's own Supremacy at present, in that his Kingdom is not to begin till after the Refurrection. But befide the falshood and the wickedness of the Affertion, whereby Christianity is made of no force or use in this World, in that no Man can be obliged to obey its Precepts,

cepts, because our Saviour has not power to make it Law, till he enters upon his Kingdom, and that is not till after the end of the World. Beside this, I say, who could think that any Man that reads the Gospel, could be so extravagantly foolish as to dream, that it was not intended for present Obligation, and that no Man is bound to obey any part of it before the day of Judgment, when that day is appointed on purpose for the distribution of Rewards and Punishments, according to Mens discharge of their Duty towards it? Mr. Hobbs would, in my Opinion, have afferted with much more modesty, that God Almighty had fent his Son into the World upon a fleeveless Errand. though that is as rank Blasphemy as can be vented; then with fo much formality go about to prove out of the Holy Scriptures themselves, that his coming into it is to no purpole, because it takes no effect whilft the World lasts. This is to fasten upon the Almighty such another piece of folly, as his Politiques have run himself into in another Case, when he tells the World, that the ferious belief of Religion is necessary to Government, and yet that all Religion is nothing but an Artifice of State; and then it is really no Religion, nor can be ferioufly believed.

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lieved, and so can do no service to Government. So here he makes God himfelf to fend his Son into the World to publish a Law, by Obedience to which. Men may purchase to themselves a State of Salvation in the World to come; and yet at the fame time makes the fame God to declare that this Law, for the publication whereof he fent his Son into the World, is of no force in this World to which it was publisht, and that no Man whilft he lives is under any obligation of Obedience to it. Upon this suppofition would not any Man conclude, that our Saviour might very well have spared all his pains, and not have been in fo much haft, and put himself to so much trouble for Enacting a Law to no purpose, but rather to have deferr'd its publication to the next World, in which it was to Commence its Use and Obligation ? But the true Confequence of this Evasion is a clear Demonstration of the distinct power of the Christian Church. when there is no way to take this away but by abrogating our Saviour's own Authority. For if all Ecclesiastical Power be in the Civil Sovereign, then he has none, and so Mr. Hobbs, to be confistent with his Principle, fays he has not, while there are Civil Sovereigns in the World. But

But if he have any, he has power to Depute what Officers he pleafes, and by virtue of their Deputation they have a Power as independent upon the Sovereign Power, as that Authority from which their Power is derived. So that to take away the distinct Power of the Church, as it was fettled by our Saviour upon the Apostles and their Successors, is in plain terms to deny his Power as well as theirs. For if they had a right to it at first by his Grant, and if his grant be of any Validity, they have the fame for ever. So dangerous a thing is it if Men would feriously consider, to disown the Authority of the Church, it is no less then renouncing our Saviour's own Authority. And I am confident no Christian Prince would ever accept of any Supremacy of Power upon fuch terms, and yet if he challenge to himself, though but a share of that Power, that our Saviour has left to the Apostolical Succession, he must plainly invade that original Authority in our Saviour himself from whom they hold it. So that hough we could suppose any Prince so prophane, as Mr. Hobbs would make all Princes, yet we cannot imagine any Man fo impudent as to take up his Supremacy upon no better terms then of Renouncing his Saviour, for

for fo does every one that denies his di flinct Authority, and takes it to himfelf. So inseparably is the right of Governing the Christian Church annexed to the Apostolical Office by virtue of our Saviour's Divine Authority, that to take it from them and place it any where elfe, is open Rebellion against the Soveraign apon the Apofilise

ty of God himfelf.

Thus far have I confidend the wild Confequence of that Opinion, that gives all Power in the Christian Church to the Civil Magistrate, and shewn, not only that it gives them what no Prince was ever fo Extravagant as to challenge, a Power to Administer the Sacraments Power to Ordain Ecclefiaftical Officers. a Power to do all those Offices that are known all the World over to be proper only to the Ecclefiastical Function, but withal, that it apparently takes away all Authority from our Saviour himself. And this in the Conclusion of all I must say for Mr. Hobbs, that though he sticks not to own all these bad Consequences, he affirms no more then what he is forced to by his first Assertion, and whoever gives the proper Ecclesiastical Power to the Civil Sovereign, if he will not own Mr. Hobbs his Consequences, must quit his own Affertion. And this I shall prove

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in its proper place, upon all the followers of Erastus, that will not acknowledge any form of Ecclesiastical Government settled by Divine Right, they must Resnounce their Christianity, and be Baptized into the Church of Leviathan.

6. V. And now having avoided thefe two dangerous extremes, one whereof destroys our Government, and the other our Religion, upon the supposition of the Truth of the Premisses, there are, and ever must be in all Kingdoms and Common-wealths, where Christianity is Entertain'd and Protected, two diffinct Jurisdictions, so as that if we confound them both together, or that either invade or intrench upon the other, it is as much as our Christianity is worth, and the wrong either way will light at last upon our Saviour's own Authority. For if the Priest challenge any Temporal Jurisdiction, as derived from our Saviour; beside the violation of the Rights of Sovereign Powers, he directly affronts his Masters own Government, and in effect disclaims it. For his Kingdom is purely Spiritual, and he becomes our Lord and Saviour by virtue of his Supremacy over it; and therefore to pretend to any Power of another Nature from him as head of his Church,

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is the thing that I charge with turning Christ into Mahomet, and forces upon him in fpight of his own Protestation against it, a Temporal Dominion. Which is fuch an abuse of his Institution, and fuch a contradiction to his whole Defign, that to call him Impostor would not be a greater Blasphemy. For this implies no less then that under pretence of such a Religious and Innocent design of erecting a Kingdom but not of this World, he teally intended no other Design then to advance an Universal Empire over all the World, and all the Sovereign Powers of it. And on the other fide, if a Sovereign Prince shall assume to himself the Exercife of that Power, that is peculiarly vested in the Governors and Officers of the Church, and fo take upon him the fole Government of it as fuch, instead of Governing the Church he destroys it, when every Church as a Church is capable of no other Government, then what was delegated to the Apostolical Office by our Saviour's own special Commission, after the full fettlement of the Rights of Sovereign Princes. So that after this, for them to take it to themselves, is to act not only without, but against our Saviour's own express Commission, when he has so particularly appropriated that Pow-

et to another Order of Men. Neither is it only an encroachment upon our Saviour's own Authority, but an affuming of it to himself. In that the Prince thereby Challenges the Supreme Government of our Saviour's Kingdom, without any Commission from him, and then has it by virtue of his own Title, and not of our Saviour's Grant, and then is our Saviour plainly turn'd out of his Kingdom;

and another feated in his Throne.

Now this being the true State of the Christian Church, the grand difficulty that follows upon it, and that has hitherto fo much puzled most Men in this Debate, is the danger of Competition between two Supreme Powers. For if they happen to contradict each other, as of later time they have too often done, who shall over-rule? If a man obey his Prince contrary to the Prescription of his Spiritual Guide, he may endanger his Soul; if he obey the Bishop, he disobeys his Prince, and thereby forfeits his Neck to Justice. This Knot is thought so difficult, that instead of untying it, it is generally cut afunder, and the competition avoided by denying the distinction. Thus the Romanists that are the high flying Affertors of Ecclefiastical Power, unanimously confine all the Power of Sove-

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reign Princes to things Secular, and take away all Authority from them in matters Ecclesiastical. And on the other side, the greatest part of those that Assert the Royal Supremacy, deny any Jurisdiction at all in Ecclefiastical Officers, making their whole Function meerly Ministerial, or nothing but a right to perform and administer the Offices of the Church, but as for any Power or Jurisdiction in it, they have none but what is granted by the Civil Magistrate. But both these run into all the fore-mention'd ill Consequences, the first by denying the King's Supremacy over all things within his own Dominions: The fecond by denying our Saviour's Supremacy over his Catholick Church in all places, by which he has every where fettled a Power in his Deputies, distinct from the Power of Princes; fo that either of these Extremes, howfoever mine'd and flated, still carry us upon the same Precipice. Though this difficulty becomes fo much the more nice, because of the more Ancient Possesfion of Sovereign Powers: in that before the Institution of the Christian Church they govern'd their Kingdoms without Competitors; and therefore have reason to be jealous of this new Authority, as an encroachment upon their old

old Soveraignty. For whereas before the fetting up of this, the whole and fole Power within their Dominions was in themselves, now they seem to enjoy but a kind of divided Empire, and fee another erected in it, backt by no less Authority then the immediate and miraculous Power of God himfelf, and that is greater then the greatest Power upon Earth; fo that by it they feem not only to be rivall'd but over-topt in their Authority. That is that Providence that had hitherto made them Supreme under it felf within their own Dominions, feems hereby to introduce a Superiour Power over their Heads, by his own more immediate Institution. All which feems to be an unavoidable contradiction to the first Principle that I have laid of a Christian Church, that it makes no alteration or abatement of the Rights of Sovereign Princes. But all these difficulties as big and as dreadful as they may appear at first view, are clearly scatter'd by one very easie and obvious consideration.

And that is, that the Christian Church, as it is endued with no Temporal Authority, or Power of the Sword, so all the Authority that it has is founded upon the Cross of Christ, and that obliges all that own it to a more entire and resigned

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submission to Civil Government, then Men could have been brought under by any other way without its Institution. So that the Erection of our Saviour's new Kingdom within the Kingdoms of the Earth upon the Doctrine of the Cross, is fo far from defrauding Sovereign Princes of their Ancient Authority, that it is its greatest improvement and inforcement: but especially it makes the Power of Christian Sovereigns more absolute then all other Powers that are not Christian, and even to these it raises their Soveraignty higher then it was before, over all their Christian Subjects, by binding them to a stricter Allegiance then their own Laws; and of all other Christians, those that have the highest Authority in the Church are obliged by their very Office to the most humble, peaceable, and absolute submission to the worst of Govern-All which confiderations render Christianity the most easie of any Religion in the World for compliance with the peace and quiet of Government.

And first, as for the Notion of the Doctrine of the Cross, it is singular to Christianity. For all other Religions both of Jews and Gentiles had some Worldly interest twisted with them; but our Saviour to avoid all mixtures of Hypocrisie, abstracts

abstracts his Institution from all considerations, unless of the World to come. And therefore first Erects his Kingdom. not only without any Promise of any advantages of this life, but to let his followers know what they were to truft to by the Principles of his Religion, with a certain affurance of the loss of all the comforts of life, and at last life it felf. So evident is it from the original Constitution of the Christian Church, that it is so far from giving Men any claims of Worldly Interest, that meerly as they are Chriflians, they are obliged, whenever they are called to it, to renounce them all. And this Doctrine lying at the Foundation of Christianity, our Saviour was careful to fettle it in the first place. When he gives his Disciples their first Commisfion to preach the Gospel to all Nations, that is the first Condition that he teaches them to require of all Profelytes, He Matth. 10. that taketh not up his Cross and followeth 38. after me, is not worthy of me. i.e. He 34. that takes not up his Religion upon con-Life 9. dition of taking up the Cross too, is no 23. true Christian. By which expression of taking up the Crofs, is fignified the under-going of all kind of Calamities, of which the Cross was the greatest, being the most shameful and most painful punishment,

nishment that was used at that time : And therefore Plato in his Description of a perfect good-Man, that nothing shall fright out of his Duty and Conscience. fays of him, that when he has fuffered all miseries, he will endure to be Crucified too. So that the meaning of our Saviour's words is plainly this, Let no Man expect any Worldly profit by following me, and therefore not pretend that I gave him any ground for it; but on the contrary, fuch is the nature of my Institution, that whoever will undertake it, it must be upon no less condition then this, that he be willing and ready to fuffer all manner of Perfecutions for it, even the scandalous death of the Cross it self. So plain is it, that Christianity when it meets with any Opposition, is to maintain it felf by nothing but fuffering to use no weapon but the Cross, and Men that are indispensably obliged to such an abfolute submission, are sufficiently tyed up, if any fuch thing be possible, from creating any disturbance to the Civil State; for what greater fecurity can be contrived against that, then that Men should be bound by the first Principle of their Religion, with meekness and cheerfulness to resign up their Lives to the pleafure of the Government. So it is in the cafe

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case of Christianity, they have nothing to plead but their own innocence, and if that will not fatisfie, they have no Authority from our Saviour to upbraid the Power that condemns them, and Remonstrate to the Justice of the Court. but instead of that are obliged to undergo its Sentence as he did with all manner of meekness and silence. Here is no disputing the Commands of Princes, whether right or wrong, nothing but absolute submission to their most unjust and illegal Proceedings, much less any oppofition to their most unwarrantable Commands, nor any weapon of defence but laying down their Lives after their great Masters Example in submission to the Government. This is the true and honest state of the Christian Church, that every Man be faithful to the Laws of his Religion, and if he fuffer for it, he shall be compensated with those Rewards that his Religion Promifes, and that is compensation enough for all that he can suffer in this World; and if he take it not up with this condition, it is not the Christian Religion that he takes up, for it is no Christian Religion without the Cross, And fo our Saviour has all along stated the matter upon all occasions. And it being so stated, it is easie to understand, how

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how in cases of the greatest competition, both Powers fo prevail at the fame time, as to attain both their respective Ends. For by it the Civil Power must over-rule as to all effects of this life, and when it is to be thus gently submitted to in its most unjust Decrees, that is a full security of the Peace and Quiet of this World, and that is the proper end for which it. was instituted. And the Spiritual Power attains its effect, as to the World to come, i. e. the falvation of the Souls of Men by their Conscientious Loyalty to their Saviour and his Laws; and that is all that it aims at, and that every Professor of it ought to pretend to. This is fo plain and evident in the whole practice of the Primitive Church, that one would wonder that any Man should ever dream that true Christianity could any way interfere with Civil Government. when the Powers of the World at that time, particularly the Governors of the Roman Empire, being under a mistaken apprehension that the new Christian Religion aim'd at Innovation in Government, endeavour'd by all the methods of Cruelty to stop its progress, the Christians who were all bound openly to profess their Faith, and some of them to propagate it in publick, notwithstanding all

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all that bloody opposition that was made against it, went on in their work without creating any the least disturbance to their Governors, unless what they gave themselves by their own needless outrage against them. For all that they did in their own defence was only to declare, that how much foever they were difpleafed with the Christian Religion, they could have no ground or provocation to persecute it, because it was not only by its Laws, but by its very Constitution. in the first place tender of all the Rights of Civil Government; but if notwithstanding that they were resolved to proceed against them, they had nothing more to fay or do for themselves, then to lay down their Lives with all possible meekness, in submission to their Royal Will and Pleafure, and hoped they would not take it for any piece of stubbornness or affected disobedience, that they would not Renounce their Faith, nor quit their hopes in the Kingdom of Heaven, out of compliance with their Commands, when they faw them fo much in good earnest as to be ready to lay down their Lives out of pure submission to their Authority. Such a competition as this cannot be avoided upon the supposition of the real Truth of Christianity, but then upon

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upon supposition of its Nature, it is im possible that it can be any way prejudir cial to Civil Government, to which by its obligation to peaceable fuffering under it, it cannot avoid to discharge its whole duty of subjection to it. If it be faid, that though this is the real state of Christianity in it self, it cannot be expected that its Professors should be so perfect and fo free from passion, but that they may be provoked to relistance by Oppression. To this it is easily answered, that how much foever the Christian Religion allows for other infirmities of Flesh and Blood, this is open defiance and contradiction to it; fo that the Man that pretends to Christianity, and yet can be prevail'd upon by any Temptation to entertain one thought of it, is a Villain, a Cut-throat, a Traytor, and a Rebel, not only against his King, but his Saviour. And therefore whenever Princes are encountred with any pretences whatfoever of disturbance upon the account of Religion, for that very reason alone they ought to cut them off as the most incorrigible and most unpardonable fort of Traytors. And if they are Christians themselves, and have any kindness for the honour of their Religion, to make fuch fhameless pretenders to it, the Examples

amples of their utmost severity, it is the very top of all Blasphemy, as well as Rebellion. In fhort, there can be nothing more evident then this, that Christianity it felf, as it is founded upon the Doctrine of the Cross, can never do any harm to Civil Government, so if it be ever abused and prophaned to such defigns, they that do it are the worst of Villains, that deferve the utmost punishment that can be inflicted upon them in this life, and will be fure to meet with it in the life to come. And that I think is all that it is possible for any Law to do. to deterr those that it would oblige from offending against it, by all the Penalties that God or Man can inflict.

6. VI. But fecondly, beside this general Doctrine of the Cross, that cuts up the very Roots of all resistance to Lawful Powers, there are great numbers of particular Laws, peculiar to this Religion, that lop off all its Branches and Pretences, by advancing the Reverence that is due to Authority; and requiring from all that profess any Obedience to that, a more accurate Obedience and Subjection to their Governors, then their Governors could have obliged them to by their own Authority. So that of all Men the Christian

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stian must be the best Subject by his very profession; so far is he from being brought under any probable Temptation of difrespect to his Superiours by his Christianity, that by that, be his Governours what they will, Caligula's, Nero's or Domitian's, he is bound by a new obligation, under no less penalty than the Divine displeasure, to give them the highest honour and the lowest subjection. It were an endless work to enumerate all passages in the Holy Scripture to this purpose, it being more frequently and more earnestly urged then any other duty, because (as Mr. B. very well observes in his Book of the Lawfulness of Rebellion ) Holy com- Every Man is naturally selfish and prouds

mon-wealth and apt to break the bounds that God hath Thef. 377. set us, and to be Kings and Laws to our selves. This Rebelling disobedient disposi sition therefore should be first resisted and fubdued, as a greater Enemy to the Peace of Nations, then the faults of Princes are: And therefore I shall alledge one or two of the most pregnant Texts against it, to shew both the Impudence and Impiety of those Men, and himself in particular, who dare Reconcile any Pretence to Christianity with the least difrespect to Sovereign Powers. And whilst they lay claims to greater Holiness and Purity

then their Neighbours, are putting continual flights and affronts upon their Governours, and whenever they can gain an opportunity by the affiftance of the Rabble, blush not with all their demureness to wrastle with them for their Supremacy. Which is fuch a rank piece of Blasphemy, such a bare-faced appearance of Antichrift, Mahomet and Hildebrand, as no good Christian can sufficiently abhor, nor any wife Magistrate sufficiently punish. Though the greatest affront of all, is to the Holy Scriptures themselves; for when they have fo clearly and feverely forbidden all Resistance to Supreme Powers; when the Rules that they have given in this case are so absolute and universal to prevent all Evafion; when beside the great Authority of the Command it felf. they enforce it by its own wisdom and reasonableness; in a word, when it is tyed upon us by all the strongest Obligations both of Power, Interest, and Ingenuity, after all this to escape the force of a Law fo carefully Enacted, is to pass an open flight upon the Wisdom of the Legislator himself. But to make these very Precepts that were given on purpose to cut off all pretences of Resistance, fo many Warrants and Commissions given to Subjects for raifing Rebellion against

gainst their Sovereigns, as has been done in our Age, exceeds all the Impiety of Men, nay of Devils too, in all former

Ages.

For what can be more clearly and fully express'd then St. Paul's Discourse to the Romans, chap. 13, Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God. The Powers that now are, are ordain'd of God. Whofoever therefore refisteth the Power, refisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that refift shall receive to themselves Damnation, &c. Here is no Restriction, no Reservation, 'tis the Catholique Duty of all Mankind. and stands upon such reasons as equally effect all. And first from the Original of all Authority, It is from God. It is not faid, because those in Power were either the best or the wifest Men; but be the Men what they will, they have their Authority from God himself, and for that reason he requires subjection to them as to himself, and therefore looks upon all refistance to these his Vicegerents, as an affront to the Authority of his own Commission: Whosoever refisteth the Power. refisteth the Ordinance of God. And then no wonder if the Judgment of God follow upon it: And they that refift shall receive to themselves Damnation. But though

though this Argument from the Divine Original of Government be fo strong an enforcement of this Duty, yet the Apofile goes on to tye it harder, and that is from its End, the Good of the Subject: For he is the Minister of God to thee for good. And common Sense will tell us that submission to the worst Princes, is much more the Interest of the Subject then Rebellion against them. So that how much harm foever a Tyrannical Prince may bring upon a Common-wealth, he does it more good, though it were only by being a Bar against the Miseries of War and Confusion. And common experience will confirm the Wildom of St. Paul's Argument, that be the Governors the worst that can be, and so they were at that time; yet their Government in fpite of their own folly and wickedness is highly beneficial to the Common-wealth; and in that every private mans Interest and Property is comprehended. Now from both these Premises the conclusion is unavoidable: Wherefore ye must needs be Subject not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake. That is, not only for fear of the King and his Laws, but out of fense of duty to that God by whose Authority Kings Reign, and who has bound upon our Confciences the duty of Subjection to

to them. Now one would think it impossible for Men to escape from the obligation of fo clear a Law; and fo it is, till they lay aside the natural Sense and Ingenuity of Mankind; and then indeed Mens Consciences are arm'd against all Conviction, and so it happens among us, that as once much learning made this great Apostle mad, so now much Reliligion makes him a Fool. For fo we are told that we must not think that he would be so filly as to abett the Wickedness of Tyrants, Non ut Neronem aut Tyrannum quemvis alium supra omnem legem & pænam constituendo, crudelissimum unius Imperium in omnes mortales constabiliret; that he would not fet up Nero or any other Tyrant above all Law and Punishment, and establish the cruel Dominion of one above all. And therefore we must distinguish between the King's Person, as a Man in Concreto ( to express it in Mr. Rutherford's words, though it is the Sence of all the Monarchomachists) and as a King and his Office in abstracto, the Person may be resisted, though not the Office, because if the Person govern not by Law and Justice, he ceases to be a Lawful Power. But to what purpose is it for God to make Laws, if Men may evacuate their force by fuch Metaphyfical

Lex Rex Q. 29.

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fical Nothings ? For how can we fub mit to the Office of a King, but by fubmitting to the King himself ? If the Office it felf could Govern without him: then it might be the fafest way to stick to the Abstract, but seeing it cannot subfift without the Concrete, he that commands to fubmit to the Office, commands us to fubmit to the Man in whom it is or he commands us nothing. So that this is really no better then prophane trifling with the Word of God, when we are in plain and express terms commanded to make no Resistance to our Governors, to get loofe from fo ufeful a Law, by fuch childish and senseles Trifles as plainly contradict the Law it felf. For whereas the only defign of fuch Laws is to preserve the Peace of humane Societies, by fuch evalions as thefe, all Men are left at liberty to disturb, it as they please, notwithstanding all the Laws in the World that ever were, or ever can be made against it. And therefore I would advise these Men that can cheat and lullaby their own Consciences with fuch Rattles as thefe, either to lay aside their Metaphysicks or their Religion, because such niceness and subtilty makes it a thing of no Use in the practice of the World. For if there were no fuch G 2 Laws

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Laws at all, Men would be under no greater restraint from the Sin, then they are now by the most effectual Laws that it is possible for God himself to lay upon them. Men that can use such abufive and prevaricating shifts to escape their plain Duty, are arrived either to too great Prophaneness, or too high Enthuliasm to be admitted to the Rights of common Christianity. They serve their Saviour just as they do their Prince, they obey him in abstracto, and Rebell against him in concreto; they submit to his Laws when themselves think it convenient, but when they do not, they then cease to be his Laws. This is the unavoidable refult of these thin and precarious distinctions, that Religion, if Meh will shall be of no use or force in the pra-Clice of the World. The world with the second

But fecondly, this is down-right Childrens play, and make all Laws whatfoever ridiculous, when it leaves it to those who are commanded absolute submission, to judge when submission is fit, and when not. Do but once allow that Liberty, and after that all the Laws injoyning this Duty can never command any thing. For after they have commanded all that can be commanded, every Man will be as much at liberty to do what he pleases,

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as he was before, being fole Judge of the fitness of his Subjection. But if he be Judge of that, he is not bound, and if he be bound, he is not Judge, but is absolutely bound. In our present case, what can the Apostles Command signifie, when he peremptorily and indefinitly requires subjection to the Higher Powers? i. e. fay these Statesmen to all Powers that govern by Law, and none elfe. makes the Subjects the Supreme Judges of the Government, not the Governors themselves; for by it, whatever these do or Command, it is of no Authority then as the Subjects judge it Legal, and if they do not, they are at liberty to Refift and Rebel. And if this be fo, St. Paul would deserve to be laughed at, for being fo ferious in enforcing a Law that can never bind, whilft he commands Subjection or Non-resistance to higher Powers, when the Subjects after that, have full Power in themselves to determine to what higher Powers they will or will not refift. Such Non-sence lyes at the bottom of all Rebellion; for if Men are at all bound to fubmit to their Governours, they are bound to submit to all; if not to all, then not to any, because the Power of Resistance is, by this poor Republican Principle, at last wholly lest G 3

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to their own Judgment, and then they are subject to no Authority but them-

felves, and their own Wills.

But thirdly, if a King ceases to be the higher Power, or to be a Lawful King. whenever he does not act according to Law, or whenever his Subjects shall apprehend fo, how is it possible there should be any fettled Government or Society among Mankind; when it is so plainly impossible, but that there must be miscarriages as long as Kings are Men; and much more misapprehensions of the Government as long as the People are the People ? So that the design of these Men that advance fuch Niceties as these, is apparently nothing elfe, then to render all Government an impracticable thing. For what fecurity or fettlement can it ever have in the World, when by fuch lavish Principles as these, Subjects are impowred, nay always Authorised to subvert the present Government? For whatever the present Government is, it will have defects enough; and that which is worfe, the fewer it has, the more it will be complained of. For there is never fo much noise of Grievances and Oppresfions, as under the kindest and the justest Princes; in fuch happy times, I know not by what unhappy fate Men run Mad with

with Infolence, out of meer Vanity and Wantonness. And it is observable in all Histories, that good Kings have suffered more from the fury of the People then Tyrants and Oppressors. So unfortunate and unruly a Beast is the Community of Mankind, that nothing can make them happy; and when they enjoy fo great a Bleffing as a kind Government, they will destroy both that and themfelves too, only to trample upon its kindness. But however upon this Principle that Kings may be refifted, and fo unking'd when they are supposed not to govern according to Law, both good and bad must make a daily forfeiture of their Crowns; and there never can be any fuch thing as Government in the World, unless God himself would be pleased to forsake Heaven, and settle a Visible Throne among us here on Earth. And yet if he should, though he would fall into no miscarriages, he could never escape from the complaints and murmurings of fuch Men as thefe. Their only delight and happiness is to be finding fault, and were they in Heaven it felf, they would be peevish and discontented. Good God purge thy Church from fuch fower Leven as this! that has for fo many years fermented all Chri-G 4 **stendom** 

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stendom into restless Tumults and Rebellions, and has at length by its violent and eager rage, work tout the very Spi-

rit and Life of Christianity.

But lastly, this Principle does not only lead to confusion, but is confusion it felf. because it takes away the very Being both of Government and Subjection. For if the Subject may result when the Prince does not govern according to Law, Who is to be Judge of that; if the Prince, he will be fure to judge for himself, and that destroys the Principle that these Men proceed upon: If the People are the Supreme Judges, then they cease to be Subjects, and are made the Sovereign, for wherever the Supremacy of Judgment resides, there is the Sovereign Power. So that by this Principle, there is no avoiding the abfurdity of fetting at the fame time the Prince above the People, and the People above the Prince; and fo I remember Junius Brutus has done in the very Title Page of his Book : De Principis in Populum, Populig; in Principem legitima Potestate. Of the Lawful Power of the Prince over the People, and the People over the Prince. But fure if one be above the other, then the other can have no power over that which is above it, or if they are both

both endued with the Supremacy of Power, then they are Equals, and Equals have no Power over Equals, for if they have, they are not Equals. There is no way of Reconciling this Reciprocal Superiority of Inferiours above Superiours, and Superiours above Inferiours; but his Poets way, who recommending this worthy work to his dear Countrey of France, he advises her for the Cure of all her present Breaches and Distempers, to keep the Power both of the King and the People within due bounds, and then all will be well again.

Haud aliter, legum populo dum frana relaxas, Dum Regis solvis vincula, tota ruis. At Populum & Regem solitis tu siste lupatis, Ilicet antiquus restituetur honos.

Now if the Poet or the Politician could but have found out fuch a Person as France, distinct from and Superiour to both King and People, to adjust their mutual Rights, then I must confess it might have been possible to reconcile this Project to common Sense, but without it, every Child can fee that it is meer Non-sense and Contradiction.

Mr. Rutherford has one shift more up- 16. p. 275. on this Argument, that I will be fo ingenuous as to fet down, though I must

confess

confess I know not how to Answer it. and I doubt no Man will ever attempt its folution. And that is this, if this Proposition be Universal, that it is unlawful to resist Kings in any Case, Then when King David deflowred Barthsheba, she might not lawfully have refisted him with Bodily Refistance and Violence, and if she had, David might have faid to Barthsheba, because I am the Lords Anointed, it is Rebellion in thee a Subject, to oppose any bodily violence to my act of forcing thee; it is unlawful for thee to cry for help, for if any shall offer violently to ref. cue thee from me, he resisteth the Ordinance of God. One would think that these Men design'd nothing else, then to prophane and ridicule the Scriptures; for how elfe could it ever have come into any Man's head to parallel Rebellious Refistance to the Commands of Sovereign Power, with not yielding to a Rape ? If the Man had intended mirth and entertainment by the conceit, it might have pass't for a prophane Jest; but to be grave and ferious, nay fierce and eager in fuch fmutty impertinencies, turns the whole matter into down-right folly and dulness. And yet our great

Holycom- English Divine R. B. has very much outmon-wealth bid the Scotch Divine in the Emprove-

ment

ment of the Notion, inferring from hence (as he fays ) a fortiori, that we are much more bound, when unjust and unchast Kings would commit Rapes upon their Parliaments, to rescue them by force and violence from their Lascivious Attempts. And so it is evident that in the long-Parliament-Rebellion against his late Majesty, they were so far from doing or intending any harm to the King himself, that they only kept him off from doing violence to the Chastity of the Houses. So easie is it for these fort of Men to find pretences or excuses for Treason, that no similitude can be so light or trivial, but that it shall have weight and fense enough to bear them out in all their enormities. Though I must confess, that of all Men that ever I met with, this holy, this mortified, this daily dying Saint, has exceeded them all in the licentiousness of his Principles, and the prophaneness of his Talk upon this Argument. As for my own part, I cannot think what to make of some Mens Consciences; for I cannot imagine that Men who pretend to great zeal for Religion, and take mighty pains (as they think) to promote it, who fay that they live in a daily expectation of speedy death, and a future Judgment, should be stubborn and

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and resolute Atheists. And yet I can as little conceive that Men, who are ferious in the belief of these things, should through the habitual course of their Lives. do fuch things for the diffurbance both of Church and State, as are plainly inconfistent with any fense or design of integrity. I know pride and passion may Transport Men into strange actions, but then those are as great Crimes themfelves, as any that they can hurry them into. But that they should carry Men, that mean honeftly, into fuch a constant course of life, as no Charity can reconcile with any Principles of Integrity, is the thing that I fay lies beyond my comprehension.

Thus in our particular Case of Non-resistance (which is one of the greatest Cases of Conscience in the World) that there is not, nor cannot be a clearer Precept in all the Bible, then this of St. Paul's, against all manner of Resistance to Sovereign Princes; yet has this unhappy Man so stated the bounds of due Obedience, and lawful Resistance from its Authority, as in the result of all, not only to evacuate all its Obligation, but to make it the very Warranty from Heaven of all Popular Rebellions. Thus he tells us plainly, that all resistance is not here

here forbidden (though the Apostle fays in express terms, that whoever resists shall be damn'd, and that I think is all Resistance ) For there is a Resistance contrary to Subjection, and that is forbidden: And there is a Refistance not contrary to Subjection, and that is not forbidden. Now he that can Reconcile Refistance and Subjection together, may at the same time be a Rebel and a good Subject, efpecially as Mr. B. has stated it. For having distinguisht between Refistance lawful and unlawful, he makes it lawful in so many Cases, and unlawful in so few, as makes it so in all. Thus Thef. 340, he fays, That if a Prince Command his Subjects beyond his Limits, refistance in fuch a case is not to resist the Power, but the Will of a private Man. The very fame Affertion with Rutberford's, that if he govern according to Law, we are bound to submit, but if he exceed those bounds, that the Law has left him, then Refistance and Rebellion are no fins. Such a wilful blindness is it in these Men, that, that they cannot fee the middle way of subjection that lies between Obedience and Refutance; for when I cannot Obey. I can and ought to Submit, but Refift I cannot without Rebelhon. And that is the Subjects Duty in all unlawful Com-

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mands, though he cannot obey, he can be quiet and peaceable, nay he can do any thing to remove or redress the Grievance, but refift the Government. When a Kingdom is bleft with good Laws, it concerns Subjects to be tender of their Preservation by all fair and regular means; but if they once Rebel against their Prince in defence of their Laws. they lofe both, by the Diffolution of the Government; for when that is gone, and it is certain that all Rebellion aims at its destruction, the Laws lye dead, and can do them no Service. And therefore there is no one Law fo beneficial to the Subject. as the Fundamental Law of Sovereignty, that it is irrefiftible; the fecurity of the publick Government is the last security of every Man's Liberty and Property. But if it be once invaded, we are immediately in a state of War, and then no Man can have any thing that he can call his own. But of that when I come to discourse of the Reason, and the Wisdom of Non-refistance; here it is enough to observe that these Men are so perverse as to acknowledge no middle way between actual Obedience and actual Rebellion; whereas the peculiar defign of these Precepts is to fix our duty, when we cannot obey, in Submission or Nonresistance:

restance. But here Mr. B. has a subtle Notion that will baer out his Innocence. though he wade up to the Knees in Blood, and to the Elbows in Rebellion; and that is, That not obeying is the first and chiefest refisting, and therefore if one be Lawful, so is the other, and then whenever we cannot Lawfully Obey, we may Lawfully Refist. An admirable Notion this! to fet all the World on fire, to make no difference between meer Non-obedience and cutting of Throats, for that I take it is making fome kind of Resistance. yet by Mr. B's Principle, bare not obeying is more fo, being The first and chiefest act of Refistance. What cannot these Men break their Consciences to, that can out of the duty of Passive Obedience infer the Obligation, or at least the Lawfulness of actual Resistance, because forfooth Passive Obedience is the first and chiefest act of actual Resistance. I pray God deliver his Church from fuch Apostate Divines, and his Anointed from fuch Rebel Subjects. But now are we come to the very Fort-Royal of the Presbyterian Rebellion, Thefis 352. If a Nation (that is, as he all along explains himself, its representative Body ) wrong their King, it is not Lawful for him to right himself by War, because it is against

the Common Good, of which the Repres fentatives are the only Judges, by Thefis 356, 357, 358, 367. That is to fay, that fuppoling the Parliament of Forty One had offer'd the King all those Injuries and Indignities, that he fo justly complained of; yet when he went about to recover and affert his Soveraignty by force of Arms, it was fighting against the Common Good, and Representative Body of a Nation, in which all Men are bound to Resist him, because they are all bound by nature to defend the Common Good. How helplefs and deplorable is the condition of poor Princes, when they are wrong'd they may not defend themselves, whilst their Subjects may not only take away their Swords, but tye their Hands, and if they please to disable them forever, cut them off too for the Common Good. This is Fourty One true blew, and I think a cast bevond it. But what has a King no Remedy? No, none at all against the Reprefentative Body of a Nation. Methinks he might Dissolve them. No, fays he Pag. 479. That is but to betray the Trust of the Com-

Pag. 479. I hat is but to betray the I rust of the Common-wealth. Is there then no Remedy to ease themselves? Yes, yes, If their Pag. 424 injury be too great to be born, they may lay down their Crowns at pleasure, Crowns

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one hot like Lands, that Men bold primawily Jure Domini : They are not primarity the matter of Propriety. Government is a means to Publick Good! When any Man's possession of the Crown does cease to be a means to the Publick Good, and this without the Peoples injury, it is then his Duty to refign it, and no injury to be deprived of it : for the means is no means, when it is against the End. If a Nation injuriously deprive themselves of a worthy Princes the burt will be their own, and they punish themselves but if it be neceffary to their Welfare, it is no injury to him Thank you good Mr. B. this is right Presbyterian courtefie to Kings to grant them leave to rid themselves of the Trouble of their Crowns, and to revenge themselves too of their Rebellious Subjects, by depriving them of a worthy Prince, and punish them to purpose by refigning his Crown into their own hands. Let them take it for a warning, if he should serve them such a slippery trick, the hurt will be all their own, but not an Atom of injury to himself. Revenge they fay is a fweet thing, but this makes it sweeter then Empire, that Princes should part with their Crowns only to vex their Rebellious Subjects. However they are much obliged to Mr. B. for his kind H

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kind advice, and I hope will return him publick thanks for this eafie expedient that he has invented to ease them of all their troubles. And if we should ever be fo unfortunate and abandoned of the Protection of God's Providence, as to fall into the hands of another Presbyterian Parliament, we are now provided of a certain Remedy against all the evils of a Civil War; it is but the King's refigning up his Crown, and all will be well again : He will be no lofer, the Nation will have the worst of it, but 'tis no matter for that, if they will be fo foolish as to punish themselves by depriving themfelves of a worthy Prince. Once more thank you good Mr. B. had I any access to, or acquaintance with Kings, I would move them to fettle a Pension upon you for so noble a piece of Service. But in the mean while, is not this an admirable Commentary upon Rom. 13. and vet it is the thort refult of a long discourse upon that very Text, Refift not the higher Powers, i.e. fays he, Wring their Swords out of their Hands, and fret them till they throw away their Crowns too. But as bad as the Doctrine is, the Application is somewhat worse: For to it he has annext a Discourse concerning the Lawfulness of the late Long-Parliament Rebellion, and the

the Reasons that moved himself to engage in a War against the King: And in it he is fo far from giving any figns of Repentance, or fo much as contesting any fault, that he frankly declares both his readiness and obligation to do the fame thing all over again upon the fame opportunity. And professes that After the strictest Examination of his own heart Pag. 486. he dares not repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again in the same State of things. And that if he should do otherwise, he should be g ilty of Treason p.g. 488. and Disloyalty against the Sovereign Power of the Land. And that if he had taken up Arms against the Parliament in that War, his Conscience tells him he had been a Traytor, and guilty of refisting the higher Pag. 477. Powers, and incurred the danger of Condemnation threatned to Refifters in the 13th to the Romans. And in his Preface or Review, makes this bold challenge, Prove that the King was the highest Power in time of Divipons, and that he had Power to make that War which he made, and I will offer my head to Justice as a Rebel. But this is to piece out one wickedness with another, not only to rebel against the King, but to Depose him. Had he fought for the King against the Parliament, he had deserved to be

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hang'd for a Rebel, and had violated that Command of God, Let every Saul be Subject to the higher Powers, and incurred the danger of that Condemnation that is there threatned to Relifers : Had been guilty of Treason and Disloyalty against the Sovereign Power of the Land, and had been a Traytor, and guilty of refifting the higher Powers. From all which it is undeniably plain, that not the King, but the Parliament are the Sovereign and Supreme Power. Which is fuch a contradiction to the fundamental Constitution of the English Government, to all the known Laws of the Kingdom, to fo many reiterated Acts and Declarations of Parliaments from time to time, that as bold an affront as it is to the Law of God, it is a more impudent out-facing the Law of the Land; fo that it feems there is no other way of justifying that Rebellion, then by perverting and belying both. And if Men can allow themfelves fuch Liberties as these, I know nothing that can keep them in any due fubjection to the higher Powers, that can dispose of the Supremacy by their own Arbitrary Will and Pleafure: For where the Sovereignty of this Kingdom resides, is a thing so easily and vulgarly known, that to fearch it out requires no deep inspection,

spection, either into the Laws of the Land, or the Nature of Government. The Oath of Supremacy is fo full a Declaration of it, that no Man, whoever took it, can after that, deny the Sovereign Power to refide in the King alone without Perjury [ That the King's Highneß is the only Supreme Governour of this Realm. ] For if he be the only Supreme, there is no other Supreme, much less Superiour. I do not argue from the bare Title of Supreme Governor, \* because \* Thos. 363. that, fay the Presbyterians, may be honorary, though others may share in the Power; but from its being appropriated to the King alone. For we do not only fwear that he is the Supreme Governor, but that he is the only Supreme Governor, and then we fwear that neither the Parliament nor any other State of Men. whatever share they have in the Government, are the Supreme Governors.

I shall not dispute with Mr. B. or any Man of the Principles of Fourty One, of the Power of Parliaments, for be it never so great, yet unless the Oath of Supremacy be meer Perjury, I am sure it is not Superiour nor Equal to the King's, when by it he alone has the Supremacy, and then to resist him by their Authority, is Rebellion by the Law of the Land,

and Damnation by the Law of God. So impossible is it to tye Men to any Sense of Duty, that can allow themselves such an unconscionable liberty of perverting and fallifying Laws; and if this be confiftent with any tenderness of Conscience. or any Pretences to Integrity, there can never be any fuch thing as Truth or Honesty in the World. Mr. B. declares that he is very desirous to Repent, if he have finned, that he daily prays to God that he would not fuffer him to dye impenitently in his Sin, and promifes that if he could but be convinced of it, he would make publick Recantation. I verily believe that he is ferious in his Protestation, and hope to live to fee it perform'd, and that is my only defign here to convince him (if that be possible) before it is too late. I intend not to upbraid him, or others with old Miscarriages, or to revive old Stories long fince buried in Oblivion. For when his Majesty has been pleased in his great goodness to pardon them as to all the Punishments of this life, God forbid but that they should enjoy the benefit of his Mercy and Clemency. But I call upon them to think of Repentance out of pure tenderness and compassion to their Souls. For God never pardons Absolutely, but always upon Conditions,

and with him, nothing less will expiate a publick Crime then a publick Repentance. And therefore I hope to see Mr. B. before he go hence, to make good his promise of making his publick Recantation, and remove that scandal that he has given to the Church of God by fo foul a Mistake (as he calls it) and I hope it was no worfe. Though I fear when this is done, he may find new matter of Repentance for flandering, and traducing the whole Church of God, and for that end perverting, and false representing all its Records, as he has done in some late Books, especially his Treatise of Episcopacy, and his History of the Councils, that are fo full not only of falfification, but rank malice against all the Ancient Governours of the Christian Church ( against whom he could have no other ground of quarrel then only this, that they were Bishops) that it is such a manifest disclaiming of all Truth and Integrity, as no pride or passion can excuse; and those two great faults are the only Pleas that can be made to extenuate the rankness of his malice. But here are fuch numberless heaps of meer falshoods and spiteful infinuations, as could proceed from nothing better then wilful dishonesty, unless this may be pleaded H 4 ĭn in his behalf, viz. his gross ignorance of the things that he writes of, and that in good earnest is the best and truest Apology for him, for it is evident from his crude way of writing, that none but a very Novice in Antiquity, and an utter stranger to the true Records of the Church, could ever have betrayed himfelf to fo unlearned a Performance. There is not any one Story in which he has not committed groß mistakes, and such as discover themselves to proceed from nothing but his unacquaintedness with the Primitive Records. And any one that can but Translate any of the Modern Collections of the Ancient Councils without looking into the Original Acts and Histories, (without which no Man can arrive to any competent knowledge in this learning) may make just such another Church-Historian as R. B. And therefore I would advise him, instead of boasting himself Father of Fourscore Books and upwards, to have some patience and take fome pains, to write one well-weighed, well-digefted, and wellreviewed, before he publish it. And if his heat could but be prevail'd with to fubmit to fo much tameness, one such discourse would outweigh, not only Fourfcore, but four hundred Books of Crudi-

I have infifted thus long upon this Apostolical Precept, because it is the most effectual Bulwark against Rebellion, and therefore most abused by the Hildebrandmists, who would elude its Obligation by the feveral fore-mentioned shifts to evacuate the Sense of the Law it self. But now to proceed, with the Doctrine of St. Paul agreeable is that of the other great Apostle St. Peter, I Epist. Chap. 2. from verf. 13th to 25th. Where the fame duty is laid down fully in the fame express and comprehensive Terms, and with the same regard of duty to God, it must be done For the Lord's fake, and that is the biggeft thing that can be faid in this or any other Case, that Almighty God requires it forever, and as Men will own his own Authority as an indispenfable Duty, and this for all the fame reafons alledged by the other Apostle, and some more. Not only because their Authority is from God, and because the Institution it self is for the general Good of Mankind; and because the great Governour of the World commands Subjection to them as his Vice-Roys, under the feverest Penalties both here and hereaster, but beside all this it is made necessary, because it is for the honour of their Religion, that by a meek and peaceable fubmission

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mission to the most unjust sufferings, after their great Master's Example, they should prevent, and silence those Calumnies of his and their Enemies, as if they were disturbers of Government; so that if they did not submit with all meekness and patience to their Superiors of what rank so ever, down from Kings to Masters of Families, whether good or bad, it would have been a just scandal to their Religion.

Q. 30.

- But to this Mr. Rutherford very gravely and feriously replies, That patient suffering, and violent refisting, are not incompatible. That is to fay, that a Man may Resist in his own defence, but if he have the ill-fortune to be overcome, he must then fuffer patiently. This Patience per force I see is the right Presbyterian Subjection; when their Superiours are too strong for them, they will crouch only because they must. But as long as they are able, Princes must pardon them if they defend themselves by force of Arms, though if they cannot, they will be fo civil as to lay them down. And of the fame kind is the Submission of Servants to harsh and cruel Masters, when they are beaten, to defend themselves with the next Cudgel that they can feize on, but if the Mafter prove the more able Fencer,

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then the Servant when he has loft his defenfive Weapon, has no remedy left but to lye down and fuffer himself to be beaten patiently, and this Patience of a Turkish Slave is their only true Christian Subjection; though as the Proverb goes, It is a Vertue more fuited to the Philosophy of an Horse, then the Religion of a Man. And if this be all that is injoin'd by the Apostle, it is nothing at all, for when we are commanded to fuffer patiently, or not to refift, only when we cannot help our felves; it is a very needless command, because so we must do. whether we will or no, and Patience per force is no Patience at all.

But beside this dull shift, we have a more acute Evasion to elude the Text, That these words were not address'd to Subjects that had the rights of their own Country, but to Strangers residing and inhabiting in such places, where they could challenge no greater rights then meerly of Courtesse and Civility. But though this is not so dull as the Scatch resistance, to yield when we can sight no longer, it is but another way of sooling against the express Sense of the Words themselves. For to say nothing of the distinction between Native Subjects and Strangers, between whom there can be

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no difference as to this Duty, then that it is stricter upon the natural Subject then the Foreigner. St. Peter's reason, as it makes no difference in the Point. fo it admits none, because it is universal and unlimited, viz. from the peremptory Command of God, that requires fubmiffion to Kings and all their Subordinate Officers, and upon this reason it concerns all alike. And after that to let Subjects loose from the duty of Non-resistance to their Prince, because the Law was here particularly directed to fuch as were Aliens, though built upon, and enforced by a reason common to all Men, shews, if not the prophaneness of the Men, the badness of their Cause. Though after all, the Observation is as false, as 'tis trifling, when it is fo vulgarly known, that the dispersed Jews were for the most part made Denisons of those Cities where they inhabited; and there were very few that were not, as well as St. Paul, free of some City or other. And then these Jews or most of them, to whom this Epistle was written, were as proper Subjects to the Government, under which they lived, as if they had been Natives of the Province. Certainly Men must be arrived to a very flight regard towards their own Consciences, that dare shuffle

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fluffle away the Obligation of such servere and Sacred Laws of God himself, with so much violence to their own Understandings. For it was impossible that Men of Common Sense, much less of Learning and Acuteness, could satisfie themselves with such trisling pretences, But, so it ever was, and so it ever will be, that as certain as Religion is at the top of all Rebellion, Atheism and Prophaneness is at the Bottom.

6. VII. But to what purpose do I take all this pains to prove the Duty of Nonrelistance from the Laws of God, the Obligations of Conscience, and the Nature of Christianity, when that only convinces the Hildebrandists of their Impiety and Apostacy from the Christian Faith? For what care they for that? Religion is the least of their thought or concernment; and though they make it the flourish to all their pretences, it is not for any kindness to that, but only to amuse the Common People, and dazle. them (as Men catch Larks with Looking-Glasses) into their Party, both against themselves and their Governours. And it is evident that the Patriots and Ringleaders of Faction have no other meafures of Conscience in the Case, then only

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ly interest, reason of State, and the good of the Common-wealth. And here they applaud and admire themselves with one busie and plausible pretence, that this Doctrine of absolute Submission proceeds from a natural dulness, and want of that Sense, that all Men of wit and courage ought to have of their Native Liberty, and serves no End but only the encouragement of Tyranny, inviting Princes that are of themselves ill-inclined. to infult over our Tameness, and how much foever they trample upon us, and our Liberties, they know we must not only endure all, but like Spaniels relent it well. Now though a wife Man would not refuse Subjection to a good natur'd or a generous Prince, yet what Man of any Spirit, can with any patience fee a whole Kingdom enflaved to the info-lence, or the folly, or the luxury of one Man ! That (fay they) is not to fubmit to Government, for that always takes care of the Publick Good, but instead of that, it betrays the Common-Wealth to Tyranny and Arbitrary Oppression.

Now to give the utmost that these Pretenders to Politicks and Innovation can alledge, not only to justifie, but to admire themselves, and the wisdom of their Proceedings, I will freely grant that

ir may, and often does fall out that Princes may be weak or wicked, or negligent. unskilful and unfaithful in their Government; that they may injure Multitudes of Private Persons, and neglect the Publick : that their Follies and Vices may endanger a whole Nation; and that the cafe is formewhat hard, that all the good People in it must be bound in Dury and Conscience, to affift and whole that Power with Lives and Fortunes that is nothing but Load and OppreMon! This indeed is an hard case, and an inconvenience that must formetimes ( though but rarely ) be felt by being under Government : But alas! there are many more hard cases in the World, and much heavier inconveniences if we cast it off. So that fetting afide all regard to Duty, and confulting only Interest, and though we care not to be honest, yet if we will be but'a little wife, and take a time account' of our own quiet and fecurity, let thefe shrewd Men of Politicks, only confider. whether it will not be more easie to bear this heavy Burthen, then to cast it off with Violence to the Government; and whether by removing one present inconvenience, we do not run our felves into more, greater and more lasting. is the only point of Wisdom and Politiques

tiques in this case, whether submission; to the worst Government be not more case to the Subject, then War and Rem bellion. And this I think will be evident to any Man of Common Sence life we only consider what we lose, and what we gain by it. First we lose our own fafety, and all that we gain, is that loss For all Government is the first security of every Man's private Interest against the Injuries and Violences of all other Men, and that will make it highly use ful and beneficial at all times, though never fo ill administred. For were it not for fear of Authority, every Man would be exposed a Prey to all Men, and all Mankind would unavoidably fall into a State of War, then which State, nothing can be more defenceless and deplorable and yet nothing but Government preferves us from it. So that when we shake off our Duty and Submission to that, we put our felves and our Families, out of all fecurity against the Violence of all the World beside. And therefore it was both a wife and a witty custom that Sex-

Ado. Math. tus Empiricus reports to have been among the old Perfians, that the People upon the death of any of their Kings were allowed five days Anarchy, that by the Mischiefs, Slaughters, Rapines, Out-

rages

rages committed in that short Interval; they might be convinced of the Usefulness and Necessity of Government, and fet the greater esteem upon the succeeding Prince. And if Men would but consider the great Usefulness of the worst Government, that it is a defence and protection of their own private Interests against the Invasions of wicked Men a that would foon prevail with them to bear all the inconveniencies of a bad Government, rather then blow up themfelves and Fortunes together with it. For whofoever refifts the Government, does what in him lies to destroy it, and when that is done, he has not only endanger'd, but certainly lost his own fecurity. So great a gainer is every Subject that will take upon him to reform the Government by force, that he pulls up the very Fence, by which his own Inclosure and Propriety is secured. Nay though himself may be so wise as to sit down patiently under an oppressive Government; yet if he do but encourage this Doctrine of the Lawfulness of refiltance to Princes, he exposes himself, as well as the Government to all the Affualts of Usurpers. For if it be Lawful for other Subjects, though they think it not wife for themselves, to take up Arms againft

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against the Prince, his Authority is thereby made too weak and ineffectual to be their Protection; they are exposed to the dangers of War, and lye wholly at last at the mercy of a Conquering Army, and that is the Refult of all the Pleas for Reliftance upon any pretence whatfoever, that they all conclude in Anarchy and Confusion. And if we will but take the Experience of our own, or other Ages, the case will be plain from that too, as well as common Sence, That Refillance to Authority, if it were never to Lawful, is fuch a Remedy as never bears its own Charges; and that no Nation ever made use of it, that did not rue its own folly. The Vices of a fingle Person are finite, and reach but to particular cases, the most bloody Tyrant that ever was, never cut off any great Numbers; and it is truly observed by Cardan of Nero, that as wanton as he was with the Lives of Men, in a very few Months after his death, there was abundantly more blood fpilt, then in all his fourteen years Reign. The miseries of War are endless and univerfal, and whatever the event is, or whoever wins, the Common-wealth is fure to be a lofer, and to pay a fevere reckoning on all fides. Some few of the four of the People, may by the strength of

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of their brawny Arms figualize them felves into Clowns of Eminence, while the Ancient Gentry and Nobility endanger all their Fortunes, and great numbers even of the first beginners of disturbance lofe their Lives, and in fhort the whole Kingdom must be undone for the advancement of a Cromwel, a Pride, an Hewson, or a Desborough, and it rarely happens ( and it is pity but it should be fo ) but that the first Contrivers are outreached in their own Deligns, and baulkt by other Men, and other Councils, and live to lament their own folly in much more good earnest, then they did the grievances or miscarriages of the Govern-But when the dispute is once ment. raised, it is not to be determin'd but by the Sword, and wherever fuccess attends, that Nation is in a fweet condition, when a Conquering Army comes with Swords drawn to rate the Merits of their past Services, and challenge rewards equal to their present Infolence, and that is to take whatever they are pleafed to demand; and it is a kindness in them not easily to be expected if they will stop at any violence. At least it is certain, That which fide foever is Victor, the generality of a Nation never reap any thing by a War; then Repentance, and a little Wildom

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got by dear bought Experience. But not to mention a thousand other great, publick and lasting Calamities, that Naturally follow Refistance and Rebellion, the certain miseries of Civil War it self. infinitely outweigh all the Burthens that the greatest Tyranny can lay upon the Subject. What a long Succession of unexampled Tyrants must have Reign'd in England, before they could have committed fo many inhumanities, as a few years Civil War for the Liberty of the Subject brought upon it? What one mortal Man's Salvageness could ever have spilt half so much Blood, as was fhed in any one eminent Battel ? Let therefore the Patriots of Sedition cease to upbraid Loyalty with weakness of Understanding, when all Men of common Sense, or any Experience in the Affairs of the World, cannot but fee through the delusion of fighting for their Liberties against their Prince, by which they hazard, and for the most part lose both, and at least certainly bring themselves into greater Slavery, then they could have fuffered, had they been patient under the worst of Governments. this brings to my mind another instance of the wifdom of Submission, and that is this, that as no wife Man that takes a thorough

thorough account of his own interest. would care to draw himself into a War against his Prince, so it is generally Men of the meanest understandings that are feduced by them. And they are drawn in by fuch poor flights and delufions, that plainly shew the contempt that the Patriots have of their shallow reach, and the bottom of all their Politiques is, to inveagle the common People into a conceit, that in all contests with the Government, it is only their interest that is concerned, and as for themselves, were it not to affert their Liberties, they would never undergo the frowns of the Court, never expose themselves to the hazards of War, nor venture their Lives and Fortunes for any thing less then the preservation of their Country. And all this while the poor People must be supposed fo dull (and fo they are ) as not to fufpect, that there is any fuch thing as Revenge, Ambition and Discontent in the World, and yet it is these that have always been the great Patrons of their Li-And though their Seditious Artifices are known, and thread-bare, as often discovered as used, and a thousand times over and over exposed, yet because the common People have not the advantage to know, or make use of the Experience

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rience of former Ages, they are in every Age as ready a Prey for the Snare, as if it had never been fet before. So that omitting divers other good reasons that might be urged against all kind of Refist. ance, and particularly that one, That if it be once allowed the common People in any case, there is no stop of pretences, or end of confusions. And if Princes may, and do abuse their Power, it is much more certain that the Rabble cannot use theirs aright: And therefore to prevent the vast inconvenience of their ever abufing it, it must be stopt at first, and without reserve, else the mischiefs that follow, if it be admitted at all, will be infinite. I know indeed, that learned Men fup-

pose some Extravagant cases in which they will allow Resistance to be Lawful, Contra Mo- Barclay and Winzet Suppose two, viz. nach. 1. 3. When the Prince fets himfelf to destroy the Common-wealth, or would fell the Kingdom to a Foreign Power. But thefe wild suppositions are not to be brought into the practice of the World, of which perhaps there are no Examples upon Record. For what can be more incredible then that a King should be fond of de-stroying his Kingdom, when by that he certainly in the first place destroys him-

C. 16.

felf himfelf, or of alienating it to another, when by that he as certainly enflaves himfelf. Perhaps the thing may be poffible in Nature, but it is so infinitely improbable, that it ought not to be suppofed in the practice of the World : Least by supposing such an unexampled madness, we let Men loose from their Dury in all other Cases; for that is the constant practice of all Incendiaries, to perswade the People that their present Governors take the course to destroy the Common-wealth. So that by this fupposition of these two Extravagancies, these Learned Men utterly defeat their own Design, because these are the very Cases that are pretended in all Rebellions, and may be applyed to all Cases, as Men please to make use of their assistance. Thus when Barclay argues, 'That if the Lib. 3. 'Power of calling Sovereign Princes to a 16. 'account for their Government, be allowed to the People or their Representatives, it would be as destructive of 'good as of bad Princes, as we may fee by the infolent deportment of the 'Ephori against their Kings, whom they 'chastised not only for their greater misdemeanours, but for their mistakes or fancies; thus as Platarch Records in the Life of Agefilaus, they punisht King Archidamus I 4

chidamus for chusing a little Woman to Wife. If therefore this were the condition of Kings to be liable to the Judgement of the People, they would be always exposed to numberless Affronts, Reproaches, and Galumnies: And that would be ever enough for their Condemnation, only that they did not please the People, though they fell into their displeasure not by any fault of their own, but by the procurement of some ambitious Incendiary. And this would be fo much the more dangerous to good, then to bad Princes, because ill Men, are more apt to affault good Men, then they them. And nothing is more difficult, then for a Prince to manage things with that wisdom and happy fuccess, as not to incur the displeasure of some Parties, of their Subjects. If he defend and relieve the Commonalty from the Oppressions of the great ones, he makes the Nobility his Enemies, as James the Fifth of Scotland did, whom they therefore Nick-named The Carlis King, i. e. The King of the Clowns. If he favour and advance the Nobility, and they any way oppress or difgust the Commons, it will drive them into Tumults, and though at first they may be despised as a cowardly 'and and filly Rout, whilft they want a Leader; yet when they are headed by any bold Captain, there is nothing more daring or more dangerous, for casting off all fears and restraints, they will mount out of the lowest Servitude to the top of Pride and Infolence, especial-'ly if any of the Nobility join with them, 'and it rarely happens in fuch cafes, but that the People draw in the Nobles, or the Nobles the People. And yet there is but one pretence for all Rebellions. the fault of the Governor; and but one defign, and that is to fave the Commonwealth from destruction. And this will put it into the Power of all Rebels, who pretend that they are forced to take up Arms against their Prince for the Publick Safety ( for all Rebels hide their wickedness under that Veil ) and if need be for the fame reason Depose f him.

All which discourse, as effectual as it is, is clearly deseated, and a Gap opened to all the liberty that Rebels challenge by his allowing the Lawfulness of resistance, When the Prince goes about to destroy the Common-wealth, when by his own observation it is the standing Artifice, and only Pretence of all Rebellions. And the truth of it is, if it be once granted

ted in any one case, it may be made as wide as Mens conveniences require.

Thus Grotius has extended it to Seven belli & pa or Eight Cases more, i. e. As many as eis, i. i. were necessary to bring his Countreymen fairly off in their casting off the Spa-

Holy com- nish Government. And so has Mr. B. from mon-wealth this very concession of Barclay, justified 466. the Rebellion against his late Majesty.

the Rebellion against his late Majesty, by recapitulating the many misdemeanours and illegal Acts of his Government ; or rather Transcribing the long Parliaments Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom; in which they reprefented to the People the great and manifest danger of the utter Subversion of our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties, and the Common-wealth it felf, under the King's Government: And thus we fee that by allowing refistance to the worst of Kings in any one case, it will serve for a plaufible and effectual pretence for Rebellion against the best of Kings in all Cases. And therefore it is more for the benefit of Mankind to have this liberty denyed even in those rare and extravagant Cases, then by granting it in any to make a pretence for all Rebellions: And if ever there should be a Prince so strangely beside himself, as to set himfelf to destroy his own Kingdom, there would

would be no danger of him, and he would be so unlikely to effect it, that he would first need to be chain'd up for other acts of madness, before he could entertain fuch raving thoughts: However it would be much less mischievous to the World, that fuch a Bedlam Prince should rather be suffer'd to destroy the Common-wealth without relistance from his Subjects, because it is so rarely done, then that his Subjects should be permitted to rebel against him under that pretence, because it is so frequently done; a thousand times for once: And for this reason is it, that God Almighty has made universal Subjection such an indispensable Duty, because however the World goes, peace is at all times most beneficial for the good of Mankind, and that is the end of all his Laws. And its univerfal obligation is fo evident, upon supposition that Government is of Divine Institution, that Grotius has no other way to escape from the Argument, but by making it a meer humane Invention. Which is to suppose that all Men in the World were once out of Government, and that is to suppose them both uncreated and unbegotten, as I shall prove when I come to discourse of the Original of Government. But at present, granting all Government

to be an Artificial invention of Men, yet it was first contrived for the common security; and therefore it is always as neceffary to keep it up, as it was at first to fet it up; for if it be at any time taken down, we are in the fame state of War and Confusion, that we were in before we agreed to submit our selves to it: and therefore for the same reason that we first entred into it, are we obliged to preserve its Rights inviolable, lest by breaking the present settlement, we expose our selves to all those inconveniences of life, that we defign'd to avoid by its first Institution. So that in the conclufion of all, whether Government were first instituted by God or Man, it is agreed on all fides, that it is necessary to Society, and Society to the comfort of every Man's life; fo that to baulk or oppose the Government, is to destroy the Society, and to destroy that, is to destroy every Man's own Propriety; and after that, all other pretences, how big foever, are too light to be put into the Balance against so weighty a Consideration. This that I have here in brief represented, is enough to convince any Man, that Submission to a lawful Government, how ill foever managed, cannot be more our Duty, then it is our Wildom and Interest. And

And therefore that it is not want of a good understanding or a manly fense of things to bear Oppression, but the Effect of true Prudence, and a thorough infight into the confequences of things. And I have here dropt in this brief account of the folly of all relistance against a legal and fetled Government, only as a prefent check to the petulancy of Sedition. be the pretences in any case never so strong and plausible, they can never stand before the force and the light of this one Confideration, That how great, and how many mischiefs soever Resistance may think to remove; it certainly creates many more, and those much heavier, and rarely ends in any thing than universal destruction. But this Argument I shall (by Gods affiftance) profecute more largely, when I come to flew the Grounds and Reasons upon which this Duty of Universal Subjection is founded, and these I shall demonstrate from the Use, the Nature, and the Original of Government, that cannot fubfift but upon its supposition. And then I shall take an account of all the republican and antimonarchical Principles, and fliew that all their Hypotheses concerning Government. first contrived by the Common-wealths-men of Greece, stand upon no firmer bottom than

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than meer fable and poetry, and in particular that their fundamental Principles of deriving all Government from the People, is built upon no wifer supposition then this, That the World was once peo-pled with Men and Women, that forung out of the Earth, both without a Creatour and without Parents. And then in the last place shew, that the Hildebrandinists of all Sects; Bellarmine, Suarez, Mariana, Lesius, Becanus, Boucherius and others on the Papal fide : Buchanan, Junius Brutus, Rutherford, Mr. B. and other of the Presbyterian fide, all agree in this one Principle of deriving the Government from the People, and make it the laft pretence of all their pleas for relistance upon what account foever. In the mean time I proceed upon the Authority of the Scriptures. Regions upon-v

6. 8. That is the second advantage, that the Christian Religion brings along with it for the security of Civil Government, viz. the many Laws that it has injoyn'd to bind Subjects to an entire and absolute subjection. The third is this, That those that are entrusted with highest Authority in the Church, are most severely forbidden to challenge to themselves any temporal power or dominion, and strictly

frictly commanded to exercise their own jurisdiction with all manner of meekness and humility, towards their Inferiours, and an exemplary fubmission to their Superiours. And this is a new Tye upon them beside all the former obligations from the nature of Christianity, the doctrine of the Cross, the Precepts of our Saviour and his Apostles in common to them, with all other Christians, to an entire and unreserved subjection. when our Saviour had constituted the supreme Governours in Apostles Church, he bears them all off from all Thoughts of worldly pride and ambition: and instructs them to exercise their Power, though it were fo very great, with that complyance and condescention, as if they had in reality none at alf. For all our Saviour's Precepts to his Apostles to avoid domination, relate wholly to the manner of exercifing their Authority, and not to the Authority it felf, as the Enemies to the Christian Church would force them to imply. For that the Apostles were vested with true and proper Power, is evident both from their Office (all the Acts whereof we have shewn to be Authoritative) and from our Saviour's own immediate Grant, in which he expressly declares, That he leaves to them and their

their Successours the same Power, that himself had received from his Father. So that if he had any real Authority at all, fo had they too; and if they had none, neither had he. And therefore those several Texts, that are usually alledged to take away the Power of the Church, cannot be understood of any thing but the manner of its exercise, without any pride or haughtiness, and with all manner of gentleness and condescention to those that were under their Authority. And if we take an Account of the particular passages themselves, they will force us to take them in this sense and no other. Thus when they were contending among themselves, our Saviour calls them to him, and tells them, The Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise Authority upon them, but it shall not be so among you: But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosever will be chief [or Ruler] among you, let him be your Servant, even as the Son of man came not to be ministred unto, but to minister. Which words though they are alledged by Grotius in the Book of his Youth, de Imperio, against all manner of Authority in the Church beside that of perswasion, which is none at all: Yet in his Notes upon

Mat. 20.

upon the Gospels, he clearly shews the Vanity and the Falsehood of that Interpretation. And no wonder, when it is done fo expressly by the Words themfelves, in which our Saviour shews his Apostles, how they may observe this Rule by following his Example, Now it is plain (fays he) that it cannot be faid of him that he had no Authority, when he fays of himself that he had all Power in Heaven and Earth, and therefore it cannot refer to the Being of Authority it felf, but to its kind and the manner of using it. That as he notwithstanding the greatness of his Dignity, behaved himself rather like a Servant than a Lord, and instead of imperious commanding his Subjects, condescended to the lowest Offices towards them, thereby to endear them to himfelf and the gentleness of his Government, so should all Pastours and Governours in the Christian Church, not insult and domineer over their Flocks, not govern them with an arbitrary Power, or meaning προνομία, tyrannical dominion, as Gregory orat. 28, Nazianzen expresses it; nor enslave them to their own interest and insolence as the Roman Prefects did the Provinces particularly the Governours or Ethnarchs of Judea, who (as fosephus informs us) were Antiq Jud. known by the particular Title of evep-13.2.

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gira, Benefactours: But to treat them with all gentleness, and to be fo far from using them like Slaves, that they should rather behave themselves to them like Servants, i.e. in short, to mor nothing of Arregance with their Authority. And that truly becomes the Person and Digni ty of a Christian Prelate (as St. Chrys from paraphrases upon it ) to be affable and courteous, to be kind and gentle, to be familiar and condescending to the meanest Persons, this gains him respect with all Men, and makes his Authority much greater then it would be withour it, Men will much more readily obey a Superiour, that obliges more then he commands. Whereas on the contrary (fays he) if a Bishop be proud and furby, or if nough and poevifh, or if when he ought to reprove he foold and brank or if when he should command, he had or domineers; or if he effect to be trou blesome to his Inferiours, and shew th greatness of his Power, by nothing d then being pert and vexatious, he just exposes himself to the contempt of a Men, loses the respect due to his Perf and the Reverence due to his Place Nothing fo adious ordefpicable as a Clou in any Authority, but in Church Author rity it is so offensive, that the indiquie

of it is not to be express't, it is so wide a contradiction to the Place and Office. Now the feme of this Text being thus stated, as it is by this Eloquent Father, it fixes the meaning of all the rest; thus when St. Peter exhorts the Paftors not Epift. i. to Lord it over God's heritage ( where c. 5. v. 3 it is all one whether it relate to the whole Flock, or only the fubordinate Clergy ) it is the very fame word which is used by our Saviour, remanupoliers. And fo does St. Paul, when he tells the Corinthians, that the Apollies do not Lord it over their Faith, the word is superbleir, which we improperly enough Translate, Not has ving Dominion over their Faith, for the word Dominion is not always taken in a bad Senfe, but often fignifies Lawful Authority, whereas aupiditi properly fignifies nothing but domineering, or treating them as Mafters do their Slaves. whom they care not how they afe for their own gain and advantage; that is the proper import of the word, and therefore it is very aprily joyn'd by St. Peter with moundmen aigeomphis, to feed the Flock for filthy lucre, as the Romans kept their Slaves. And to the fame purpose is the advice of Sr. Paul, that a 1 Tim. 3.31 Bishop be no striker, nor greedy of filthy Lucre, but patient, or mild and gentle, K 2

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of it is not to be express't, it is so wide a contradiction to the Place and Office. Now the fense of this Text being thus stated, as it is by this Eloquent Father, it fixes the meaning of all the rest; thus when St. Peter exhorts the Pastors not Epist. i. to Lord it over God's heritage ( where c. 5. v. 3. it is all one whether it relate to the whole Flock, or only the fubordinate Clergy ) it is the very fame word which is used by our Saviour, narrowpelier. And fo does St. Paul, when he tells the Corinthians, that the Apostles do not Lord it over their Faith, the word is worden, which we improperly enough Translate, Not having Dominion over their Faith, for the word Dominion is not always taken in a bad Sense, but often signifies Lawful Authority, whereas worden properly fignifies nothing but domineering, or treating them as Mafters do their Slaves, whom they care not how they afe for their own gain and advantage; that is the proper import of the word, and therefore it is very aptly joyn'd by St. Peter with moundmen digeonepolis, to feed the Flock for filthy lucre, as the Romans kept their Slaves. And to the fame purpose is the advice of St. Paul, that a 1 Tim. 3.31 Bishop be no striker, nor greedy of filthy Lucre, but patient, or mild and gentle, K 2

not a brawler, not covetous, i.e. not to run into any of these Vices or Disorders in the exercise of his Episcopal Authority; but to infer from hence, that he has no true and real Authority at all, only becomes the Man that knows no better Sanction of a Law, then a Sword or a Cudgel. And this very thing is that Emeixiz, that moderation, that is so frequently injoin'd in the Apostolical Writings, as Phil. 4. 5. Tit 3. 2. Jam. 3.17. It is not, as it is by some Men very ignorantly interpreted, an unconcernedness and indifferency between diffenting Parties, for that may be good or bad as it happens; if the controversie be trivial, it may be an instance of it, but if it be about a matter that is fetled either by the Authority of God or the Church, there indifferency and moderation is nothing else then Falshood and Treachery. But the true meaning of the word, is a mildness and gentleness in the use of Authority, the same that is attributed to God himfelf in the Government of the World, Wild. of Solomon, c. 12. v. 18, But thou Mastering thy Power, judgest with Equity, and orderest us with great favour, or onsixeia nelveis, i. e. judgest not by rigour of Law, but with mercy and gentleness, and fo Aristotle defines the vertue of ParTheixera that its Office is, enavoper nov νόμον, η ελείπει 2/a το καθόλε, to correct and moderate the general Law when it is applyed to particular Cases. And all good Government is ever more merciful then the Law ought to be, for that cannot be too fevere to deter Men from offending, so that there are not many cases in which it is broken, wherein the offender may not require fome mercy and compassion. But as this Vertue is so highly commendable in all Government, fo is it much more in that of the Church, in which Almighty God shews more of it in himself towards Mankind, the Gospel being nothing but a difpensation of his Mercy and Gentleness to Offenders. And as this is a necessary Qualification in the Governors of the Church for guiding and rectifying their publick Government, fo is it most becoming their private Conversation, and by gaining Authority to their Persons, doubles that of their Office. So that when our Saviour instructs his Apostles in this new way to Greatness, his instructions are wise in a literal Sense, for nothing is really so great and commanding in the World as true Humility. Whoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister, and whoever will be first among you, let him be your K 3 Servant,

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Servant, Matth. 21. 26. If any one defire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and Servant of all, Mark 9. 35. He that exalteth himself, shall be abased; and he that will abase himself, shall be exalted, Math. 23. 12. The common experience of the World fufficiently attefts the Truth and the Wisdom of these Propositions, so Powerful is the obligation of Courtesie, Condescention, and Humility. But if the Governors of the Church are so strictly injoin'd this Vertue, where they have Authority, how much more are they, where they have none? If they may not contend with one another for Dominion, though they have equal Power. how much less with Sovereign Princes, of whose Power they have no share, and to whom they are bound to a more exact and exemplary Obedience and Submission then other Subjects, by their Office and Power. So that our Saviour has taken all possible care, as far as Law can do it, to reduce the Constitution of his Church to an entire compliance with the Civil Government. And though he has instituted a distinct Government in it, fuited to the design of his Religion, he has so many ways brought it into Subje-Gion to Sovereign Powers, that they are much more disabled by their very Authority

thority to give them any disturbance, then they could have been without it: the very Authority it felf being a new and distinct Obligation to a stricter Allegiance. But because notwithstanding all this Evidence fome Men are jealous of granting any Authority to the Church peculiar to it felf, especially when all Power is so apt to degenerate into abuse; and therefore though they cannot deny the truth of it in general, are very shy of admitting it at all, left they give it too much advantage fometime or other to fix and strengthen an interest within it felf, against the State ( And I must confess the prophane boldness of the Bishops of Rome, ever since the Hildebrandine Apostacy, in justling and contesting with Princes, as the Vicars of Christ, has given too much ground for this Jealoufie ) I shall from this general state of the Christian Law, as fixt by our Saviour and his Apostles, proceed to its particular Precedents, when it came to be reduced to practice in the Primitive Church. Whereby I shall make it to appear, after and beside all these foregoing considerations to forestal all pretences whatsoever, of resistance to the Civil State, that thô this, because all Power is so, may be liable to abuse, yet that there is not any K 4 one one point of Government more easie then to prevent it, and that the danger is so very little, that no Government that does not grosly forsake it self, can possibly suffer any thing from it, and that the abuse is so unlikely, and so difficult ever to be put in practice again, that there is no one thing in the World that requires less care to watch against it; in short, that it can never come to do any harm without such a long continued stupidity in the State, as is utterly inconsistent with all Government of it.

And on the other fide, the advantages that accrue to the State by receiving the Church into its protection, are fo great. fo certain, and fo universal, that there cannot be a groffer faileur in Policy, then to refuse or deny it. And here I say for our better direction, as every where elfe, we must advise with the practice of the Primitive Church, where we shall find the whole matter fo fairly and fo eafily accorded, that it is next to a miracle how it should ever be made so great a difficulty in these later times. But it hapned in this, as it did in most other things at the time of the Reformation, that men faw themselves wrapt up, they knew not how, in woful Errours and Corruptions, but did not, and indeed as the World then KA

then stood, could not immediately discover the true original state of the Church. as it was at first setled by our Saviour and his Apostles, and received into protection by Constantine and the Christian Emperours. So that though they had Eyefight enough (and God knows very little would ferve their turn) to difcern the follies and abuses of Rome, they were at a loss how to fix the right Reformation, and for want of the ancient Records of the Church, that lay buried in dust and rubbish at that time, could make but flow improvements in it. So that before the true state of the Church could be clearly and fully discover'd, most of them were fetled in fome way or other, and after any new fettlement, it is very difficult to make any Alteration, and therefore they continue in their first posture to this day. But the Church of England at the very first Attempt, resolving to reform it felf by the Example of the Primitive Church, and having the good fortune to retain the Apostolical form of Episcopal Government in fubordination to the Royal Power, fet it felf in a right way to Reformation. And fo as the state of things came to light by degrees, brought its work to some competent Perfection. For the Reformation of the Church after fuch

fuch an inveterate degeneracy, must needs be a work of so great bulk and difficulty, that it is an unreasonable thing to expect that it should be finisht at the first stroke. So great a defign as that must be a work of time and confideration, to be reviewed and amended as the Master-Workmen shall find most convenient. So as that they, who had a Power first to begin it, have an inherent right, when ever they think fit to take an account of their own Work, and if they find any flaws, mistakes, or defects in it, to make them up by an So that there must be a conafter-care. stant Power residing in the Church to enact or abolish Laws, as it judges most ferviceable to the present state of things. And that is truly and properly the Church of England, the Governours of it acting under the Allowance of the Sovereign Power by its establisht Laws and Constitutions, with a constant power residing in themselves, and their Successours, to enact new Laws as they shall judge most beneficial to the Edification of the Church. And it is a very crude notion of the Church of England (as common as it is) that it is to be found in its Canons, Articles and Constitutions, for that is only the Law and dead rule of the Church of England, but the Church properly fo call'd

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call'd confifts in its living Authority, as fetled by our Saviour, by which these Laws were at first enacted, and are or ought to be still executed, and may in some cases be alter'd. And that is the great difference between the Law and the Authority of the Church, that one is alterable, and the other is not. The Authority of the Church may make new Laws and cancel old ones, but that lasts the fame for ever. So that for men to talk of this or that Church, without a particular form of Government fetled in it by our Saviour's own Commission, is to turn the Christian Church into a Chimæra and imaginary state of Fairies. But as for the Church of England, according to the defign of its Reformation, it confifts of a National Synod of Bishops, together with a felect Convocation of Prefbyters representing the whole Body of the Clergy in Subjection to the Sovereign Power, and in communion with the Catholique Church all the World over, as far as it can be attain'd. And this is contrived fo agreeably to the Primitive Platform, the Interest of Government, the Nature of Christianity, that there is little else defective in it, then the honesty and the confidence to own it felf, and put its own Constitution into effectual practice. But

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But of that I shall discourse in its proper place.

6. 9. At present for the practice of the Primitive Churches Government within it felf, and as it related to the Civil State, it must be consider'd in the two Periods; before and after the Conversion of the Empire; and by comparing the true face and posture of things in these two fo different states, we shall have an exact description of the Rights of the Church in all estates and conditions whatfoever: But most of all of its easy complyance with the Rights of Civil Government in Christian States; and of the fafest way for Christian Sovereigns to govern and protect the Church within their Dominions, without invading its inherent and unalienable Authority. And then last of all, I shall compare that Royal Supremacy, that is acknowledged and afferted in the Church and Realm of Emgland in Causes Ecclesiastical with the sense of the Ancient Church, concerning the Authority of Emperours, and with the Practice of Christian Princes, in the Exercife of this Authority. And by shewing their compleat Agreement, shall from that Topick distinctly prove that we have in this, this, as well as in other matters, attain d

a good degree of Reformation.

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First, as for the Period of time, before the Conversion of the Roman Empire, there are two things to be consider'd; first their behaviour towards the Civil Government, whilst it supprest and perfecuted the Christian Faith: Secondly, the exercise of their own Authority within themselves. From both which it will appear that the Church, as a Society founded by Christ, challenged a Jurisdiction diftinct from and Independent upon the Civil State; and that this Jurisdiction was fo far from interfering with or abating of the Sovereignty of Princes, that it bound them to the strictest Allegiance and Subjection, to the most inhumane Persecutors. And the Story of this Interval, whilft the powers of the Church and the World were separate, and indeed (as much as it was possible) opposite, will fet before us a much clearer State of the Nature and Extent of the two Jurisdictions, then we can have from the Practice of Christian States, in which the two Powers concurring in the fame Acts of Government, it is not altogether so easie to discern their distinct influences: but will withal give us the fullest Character of true Christian Loyalty from their practice

under the hardest usage and severest perfecutions. But most of all from their Principles upon which they founded their Obligation to their Practice; and when it appears upon what grounds and reasons they submitted to the utmost cruelty of the Civil Government, that will prevent the common shift made by all Factious Parties against the Authority of their Example: viz. that they submitted for want of strength to make refistance, because it will shew that they thought themselves obliged to fuffer any thing from the Government rather then relift, by the most Sacred and indiffensable Laws of their Religion.

And first, as for their Patience and Submission under all kinds of Cruelties and Oppressions, it is so remarkable, so entire, so without reserve or exception, that, if it were possible, the height and glory of their practice exceeded the Gallantry of their Masters Precepts. And though they were eminent for all other Vertues, yet in this of patience, cheerfulness, and magnanimity under sufferings they outdid themselves. It was the hight and perfection of all their goodness; it was the wonder and assonishment of their Enemies; and the glory, and if any thing could be so, the very boast of their Reli-

gion. Numberless are both the Instances of this Practice in the Records of the Church, and the Affertions in the Writings of the ancient Doctors of it, to own and justifie their Obligation to it. But to transcribe them would be an endless work. and would take up the greatest part of the Records of the first three hundred years: that are for the most part employed about these είρηνικώτατοι πόλεμοι (as Ensebius in Prefat. stiles them ) these peaceable Wars of Mar- ad lib. 5. tyrs and Confessors. It is enough that in all that time, there is not one instance of any Christians making any forcible defence. or joyning in any Sedition against their Though if there had been Governors. any miscarriages in that kind, that could have been no objection against the truth of the Doctrine it felf, which is to be taken from the general Practice and Sense of the Church, not from the irregularities of a few private persons. And yet so far was it from that, that to me it looks like Wonder and Miracle that among all the Primitive Christians, who lived under Pagan and perfecuting Emperors till the time of Constantine the Great, which takes in the Interval of three hundred and forty years, there should not be one instance of any one Christian, that either taught or practifed the Doctrine of refistance

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ance in any case whatsoever; but that on the contrary they unanimously both taught and practised the Duty of Passive Obedience, as one of the greatest and most indispensable Laws of their Re-

ligion.

And first as for the publick Records, the Canons and Laws of the Church, the case is the same here, as that of Parricide in old Rome; the Crime was fo unknown and fo unfuspected that no Provision was made against it. For among all the Canonical Decrees and Censures of the Ancient Church, which were all enacted to restrain some present miscarriages, there is not one to be found that forbids or punishes the Sin of Resistance to Lawful Superiors. The Christians of the Primitive Church were fo firmly fix't in their Duty here by our Saviour's and his Apoftles Precepts, and by the constant Instructions and Unanimous Sense of their Pastours and Teachers, that they suppofed that they could not make any refistance to the most unjust violence of their Persecutors, without renouncing Christianity it felf. And that is the reafon why this Crime was then never restrained by Ecclesiastical Censures, because it was then never committed. And though there are scarce any other Sins for

for which the Church has not appointed proper Penances, because they were some time or other put in practice, yet the in of Rebollion was the only Crime for which it had no Penance; because there never was any one instance of it, to given any accasion for a Law against it. Nay, fo far was the Church from doing any thing prejudicial to the Rights of Sovereign Powers othat at was careful and tender of the Interests of Families in pursuance of its Fundamental Princi plen that Christianity was to make mo alteration in any Civil Rights whatfoever. And therefore in the 82 Apostolical Ca non it is provided That no Servant be admitted into Holy Orders without his Mafter's confent, because ( as they give the reason of the Law ) that would be a fubversion of Families. And for that reason it was made one of the Articles framed against St. Chrysoftom by his Adverfaries in the Synod under the Oak, on Sanus amoleius minu indidepudentus exeres Leunclavimornaer manonus, That be had Ordain'd us, l. p. other Mens Servants before they were fet at liberty. And in the third Canon of the Council of Gangrait is Decreed, That whoever teaches Servents to forfake their Mafters, upon the account of Religion, be Anathematifed This Synod of Gan-

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gra was affembled against a particular Sect of Fanatiques in Armenia, that under the pretence of a more refin'd and spiritual Religion, became perfect Ranters and Levellers, and to habierted all Rights both Sacred and Civil Vas They are excellently described in an Episte of the Bishops of the Synod to the Bishops of Armenia, prefixt so their Carlons, and among the many other diforders linto which these wild Unthusialts dans themfelves, this was oney that they tunghe Servants to run away from their Mafters respaine Seconsal, Supon the secrete Godline's, which as well as attened della abfurd Principles is here justly and as 28 nar as observes, in Pursuance of the Apo-Stolical Doctrine, Anathematifed. Thefe are all the Canons that I know of in the Ancient Church, that concern Mens Civil Rights, to rarely were they linvaded or violated among the Primitive Ohri dians; but the first Canons that I meet with against Rebellion, were the three Anathema's of the Council of Toledo, in the year 633 : When the Roman's being driven out of Spain by the Gaths, and they being fettled in the peaceful Govern ment of the Country, after the death of Cinthilas, who first obtain'd the Crown, and the Peoples confent to it; Sifinandus his

his Son fummon'd this Council in the first year of his Reign, to Anathematise all Persons, that should any way attempt any thing against his Crown, Life, or Dignity. But this was meerly contrived for the fecurity of his Government against the Romans, and to preserve his new Subjects from Revolting to their old Mafters, and was not made to condemn the Doctrine of Resistance, as if it had been taught at that time, but to abet their Oath of Allegiance, and for that reason the Anathema upon the Offender is founded upon the fin of Perjury. The next passage that I remember, to provide a- Leunclavigainst all Rebellion, is the fragment of a us Greco-Synod held by Alexius Patriarch of Con- Rom. Tom. 1. Lib. 2. stantinople, under the younger Constanti-Pag. 118. nus Porphyrogenneta, who began his Reign in the year 975. In which all defections from, or infurrections against the Emperour are Anathematifed; and fo is the Priest that gives absolution to any Rebels, before they return to their Duty and Allegiance. The occasion of this Law I know not, but whatever it was, I know no other of the same nature till the Hildebrandine Apostacy, whose barbarous proceedings against the Emperour Henry the Fourth, were immediately censured and condemned by a Council of L 2

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of Thirty Bishops affembled at Brixia in the year 1080, and himself is Deposed and Anathematifed, as one that destroyed the Order of the Church, and diffurb'd the Peace of Christian Empire, and compass't the Death of a Catholique Prince. and abetted a perjured Usurper, and subverted the Peace of the World. And the fame Sentence was ratified five years after in a Council at Mentz, though all in vain, for they got nothing by it, but the Name and the Brand of Schismatiques. But what bloody work has been made in Christendom by the Principles of this Termagant Pope from that time to this. will make up a Volume of it felf, when we come to those times.

But to return to the state of the Primitive Church, though there are no examples of any affront or violence offer'd to the Civil Magistrate in it, yet there are numberless instances of their quiet and peaceable Submission, and that too upon Principles of Duty and Obligations of Conscience. Thus was it bravely said of St. Polycarp, and worthy the greatness land wissom of the Martyr, to the Pro-Consul at his Tryal. We are Comman-

Eust. Lib. ded, Sir, to give all due and decent ho-4. c. 15. mour to Princes and Magistrates, so far as we can do it, without doing wrong to our

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own Consciences. They were bound to comply with, and fubmit to the Will of their Governours in all things but Sin, and that by the Laws of their Religion. But the most magnificent Account of this is to be feen in the Christian Apologists, who in the very heat and flame of Perfecutions, when, if ever, Men should be exasperated into Passion, Glory and Triumph in their great Zeal and Loyalty to those very Princes by whom they were persecuted. Justin Martyr is so Apol. 2. confident as to Petition the Emperours P. 66. to punish all fuch as profes't Christianity and yet lived not according to the Laws of their Religion, and then immediately adds, As for our parts, we are the most forward of any Subjects to pay Taxes and Contributions to the Emperour, as we are Commanded by our Master, to give unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. And therefore we worship God alone, but cheerfully serve them in all other things, as well knowing them to be Sovereign Princes over Men; and withal praying for them, that God would add Wildom to their Imperial Dignity. This is our Pra-Elice and Profession, and if, notwithstanding this, you will proceed against us, we shall be no losers, being assured, that every Man mult

must after death give an account of his own Actions, and then our Rewards shall be proportion'd to our Sufferings. And after the same manner, and with the fame confidence, does his Scholar Athenagoras conclude his Eloquent Oration to the Emperours, when he had shewn the Innocence of the Christians in all other particulars, when he had wip't off all Calumnies, and when he had reprefented their Piety, their Honesty, their Temperance, their Sobriety, he adds, And now great and worthy Sirs, lend me your Royal Ear, who think you are more likely to obtain the things that they pray for, then Persons so qualified, and yet we daily poure forth our Prayers for the profperity of your Government, and that the Son may according to right succeed the Father in the Empire, and that your Government may ever increase and flourish; in short, that all things may fall out as successfully as your hearts can defire, which will be a benefit also to our selves, that living under your Reign a quiet and peaceable life, we may readily obey your Commands. That was the fum of all their Apologies, and it was fuited to the Nature of their Religion as it stood founded upon the Doctrine of the Crofs, we are obedient to all your Commands, that are not

not contrary to the true worship of God and the Laws of our Religion; there we crave leave to be excused, and if that offend you, we can but suffer for it, which we are ready to do with all manner of meckness and submission, as being assured of an Exernal Reward for a short calami-

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Theophilus Antiochemus in his Address to his Friend, discoursing of the Folly and Vanity of giving Divine Worship to the Emperours, he tells him, That it is a much greater honour to them not to worship but to pray for them. I will worship that God from whom Cafar received his Authority. But you will fay, why not Cæfar too? Because he was not set up to be worshipt, but to be paid that proper honour that is due to Cæfar, for the King is not the Deity but ought to remember that he is advanced by God to that height of Dignity, not to be worshipt by his Subjects, but to do them Justice; for this end the Divine Majesty placed him in the Imperial Throne, and therefore as Cæsar will not suffer any of his Subjects to usurp the Casarean Title, because it belongs to him alone, neither let himself challenge that worship, that is proper and peculiar to the Divine Majesty. And therefore O Man honour the King, bonour him, I say by loving him, obeying him, and

and praying for him, and by so doing, you will do the will of God, for this is the Sum of the Divine Law, my Son bonout God, and the King, and be not disobedient or refractory to either of them. This was the true state of the Case in his time to fhew all manner of respect and honour to Sovereign Princes as fuch, only in Subordination to God, so as to obey them in all things but when their commands interfer'd, and then indeed they choose to obey God in the first place, still preserving in all other things the same honour and Lib. 8. p. duty to their Prince. And after the same manner Origen answers Celsus, when he asks him why the Christians cannot worship and appease the Emperours, because (fays he) there is only one God, that ought to be worshipt, the Lord of all, and he is best appeased with devout Prayers, but the favour of Princes is not to be courted by Such mean and dishonourable obsequiousness, as is inconfistent with true Piety, or such servile Flatteries as are unworthy a generous man, and one that esteems magnavimity to be the greatest of Vertues, but as far, as our Piety to God will permit, we are not so frantick that we should wilfully exasperate the displeasure of Kings, to deliver us to torments and death; for we are so taught in our Books, let every Soul be subject and

jed to the higher Powers, for there is no Power, but is of God, therefore he that relifteth the power, relifteth the Ordinance of God. And these words are to be understood in their plain and natural sense. And their Sense is so very plain. that it is impossible to fasten any other Sense upon them beside their own. With all these imminent Doctors of the Church agrees the Answer of that pious and resolute Prelate Dyonyhus of Alexandria in his Examination before Amilianus Prefect of Egypt, that we worship one God, the Maker of all things, and who bestowed the Empire upon their most Sacred Majesties, Valerianus and Gallienus, to him we offer up our daily Prayers for the Safety of their Empire, that it may continue firm and un-(baken forever. boold ve day and)

§. 10. And as for the Latins they kept pace with, not to fay that they out-ran the Greeks in the same Track of Loyalty. Irenæus Scholar to Policarp writing against the Gnosticks, who taught that the Powers of the Earth ought to be obeyed, because they were set up not by God but by the Devil, has stated the Obligation to the duty of Obedience upon its true and proper Principles. First from divers passages of Scripture, expressly commanding it, Secondly from the Providence of God,

God, who fets up Kings for the preferval tion of Mankind, left they should prey upon one another like the Fish of the Sea. And lastly to prevent the Objection that God would not fet up bad Rings, he replyes, that by whose command they were born men, by his command they were ordain ed Kings, fit for the times in which, and the people over whom they reign, for some are given for a Punishment, others for a Bleffing to their Subjects, all to all People as they deserve, the just Judgment of God equally extending to all. Which is a full declaration not only of the Loyalty of the Primitive Christians, but of the Principles upon which it was grounded. Tertullian in the time of Alexander Severus under the rage of the fifth Perfecution, that was very bloody and fevere, writ his admirable Apology in imitation of Justin Martyr, and for a Foundation of his Plea, states the true condition of the Christian Church in this World. Seit fe peregrinam in terris agere; inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire; cæteram genus, Sedem, Spem, gratiam, dignitatem in calis babere. Unum gostit interdum ne ignorata damnetur. 'She knows her felf to be but a Stranger and Pilgrim in this World, and cannot but expect to meet with Enemies in a Forreign Country, but her.

her Kindred, her habitation, her hope her favour, and her honour all dwell in the World to come. She has but one thing to request or indeed to challenge, that the may not be condemn'd unheard. Here is no pleading any exemption from the Imperial Judicatures upon the Account of Christian Priviledges; but he offers himself and his cause to a fair and impartial Tryal, and he is so confident of its innocence, as to defire no other fayour but only the Justice of being heard. Neither does he any where complain of their punishing such Actions as belonged not to their cognizance, but only of the Illegality of their Officers Proceedings. in that they were condemned unheard and unexamined. And though they were fo, yet he no where appeals from their Courts, but only presses them to examine and fearch into their cause, and so stipulates in the name of the Christian Church. to stand or fall by their Judgment. And as for their strict Loyalty to their Prince he farther pleads, that they pray for the Emperors that God would grant them long Life, a quiet Reign, and undisturbed Family, Valiant Armies, Faithful Counfellors, Obedient Subjects, and whatever else they can desire either as Men or Emperors; and then bids them proceed

proceed to murther them, and tear their Souls from their Bodies, whilft they are praying for their Emperors Happiness. And therefore you that think that we have no concern for the Safety of Cafar, 'look into our Books and learn from them with what Redundancy of Kindness we 'are commanded to pray for our Enemies and Persecutors, and who are more for than those by whose Authority we are condemned as Criminals. But befide that we are expresly injoyn'd to pray for 'Kings, and all that are in Authority. We revere the Wildom of God in the Emperors, that fets them over the Nations, we acknowledge that Character in them, that God has imprest upon them, and therefore we will wish them ' fafe, whom he would have fo. But what do I fay any more of the Christians duty 'and even Religion towards the Emperor, 'whom' they are particularly bound to honour as one chosen by their God? fo 'that I may well fay, that Cafar is most of all ours, as being fet over us by our 'God, &c. And a while after he boldly demands. Whether there were ever found among the Christians any Cashi, Nigri, and Albini, three known Rebels, the first against the Emperor Verus, the other two against Severus. And in his Apology

Apology to the Prefett Scapita, he tells him that we are flander'd about the Imperial Majesty, and yet there could never any of the Albinian, Nigrian, or Castrian Rebels be found among the Christians. 'A Christian is no Mans Enemy, much 'less the Emperor's, for knowing that he is apointed by God, he cannot but Love, Reverence, and Honour him, and 'pray for his fafety; and therefore we worship the Emperour, as far as it is 'lawful for us, and convenient for him. viz. as a Man next under God, only 'less then him, and deriving his whole Authority from him. It is an excellent Passage in Minutius Fælix, who lived not long after Tertullian, concerning the calm and peaceable Magnanimity of Christians. How delightful a Spectacle is it to God, when a Christian encounters Sorrow, when with a composed mind he meets threatnings and Torments, when with 'fmiles he infults over the noise of Death, ' and the dread of the Executioner, when 'he afferts his liberty against Kings and Princes, and yields only to God, whose he is; when with the Triumph of a Conquerour he has the better of the Judge, who gives Sentence against 'him, for he overcomes who gains what he fights for ? That is the only Chriflian

stian Combat, Courage, and Submillion. And therefore it is very well observed by the learned Lawyer Baldwin, in his Pro-Legamena to this acute Author, that Cacilius the Heathen, though he were in all other things a very bold Calumniator, and infifted fiercely upon all the vulgar flanders against the Christians, yet he never durst charge them with the least Suspition of Disloyalty or Rebellion, To which they might have added, That though they were usually indicted of Treason by their Enemies, yet the only proof of it, was their refufing to Sacrifice by the Emperour's Genius: And fetting that one act of Idolatry aside, there is not any one charge upon Record of any one act of Disloyalty, and that ( as fays the learned Lawyer ) was the glory of our Ancestors, that they would be provoked by no injuries to any thought of Hostillty against Lawful Sovereigns, howfoever barbaroufly they were treated by them; or enter into any Conspiracies against them, though at that time they were frequent and plaufible, as being always mindful what became their Patience, Meekness, Modesty, and Sobriety; fo far were they from being Turbulent and Seditious, and running mad with a thirst of Revenge. And in reality if they had

had behaved themselves otherwise, they had laid wast the very Foundations both of their own Religion, and all humane Society too. W bus evened and monthly vin

And to mention no more, St. Cyprian Ad deneis as express for Passive Obedience join'd trianum. with Loyal Prayers as any of his Predecelfors: Nemo nostrum quando apprehenditur, reluctatur, nec' fe adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis wimins & copiosus noster sit Populus, ulciscitur Innocentes nocentibus cedunt, infontes pænis & cruciatibus acquiescunt. None of us, when he is apprehended, refifts, and though our numbers are great and con-'fiderable, we do not think of revenging our felves against your unjust Oppret-'fions: the Innocent fubmit to the Guilty, and fit down quietly under Pains and Tortures. And then a little after this he adds, 'That though we are treated thus barbaroufly, yet we cease not to pray for the expulsion of your Enemies, for feafonable Rains, for removing or abating publick Calamities, begging of God day and night with the greatest importunity for your peace and lafety that are our Perfecutors. And in this time they were to tender of doing any thing offenfive to the Civil Government, or any way contrary to their ass! ComEpift. 13. Edit. Ox-

Commands, that they judged it not laws ful for a Christian, that was banisht for his Religion, to return into his own Country without the leave and warrant of Authority. So that St. Cyprian reckening up in his Epiftle to the Confessors in the Decian Persecution, divers scandals, that fome of them had given to the Christian Church, particularly of some that lived in continual Debauchery, and Uncleanness either from their very Baptisme or their Confession, next to these he tells them, Alius in cam Patriam, unde extorris factus eft. regreditur, ut deprehenfus non quali Christianus, sed quasi nocens pere at. Another returns back into his Coantrey, from whence be had been commanded into Banishment where it be beneap prehended, let bim know that he suffers not as a Christian, but as a Malefactor. From all which pallages it is evident beyond all contradiction, that it was the unanimous sense of all the most eminent Doctors of the ancient Church, that no thing was more contrary to the whole frame and constitution of Christianity then resistance to the Civil Government in any case whatsoever, and that in case of Perfecution, and Oppression for its Passive Obedience was their indispensable dury, which upon any provocation to vien late

late any way, was judged no less a Crime then, renouncing the Christian Faith. It were easie to have collected a vast number of pallages out of the Writings of the Ancients to the fame purpose, and divers fuch Collections, have been made by Learned Men, but I have felected these peculiar passages out of my own little obfervation, because they do not only give us their Opinion, but the ground upon which they build it, from the reason and the nature of their Religion, and that gives it a perpetual and unalterable Obligation in all times and cases; and how various foever the Affairs of the World may be, yet this duty can never be alter'd by any change of circumstances; because it is as unchangeable as the nature of our Religion; fo that as long as Christianity lasts, it must for ever equally oblige all Christians under all circumstances and in all conditions.

Neither do they teach the Doctrine of Non-relistance meerly as Doctors of the Christian Church, & as it is a Law of their Religion, but as Philosophers, or men that understood the Interest of Mankind, and the Original of Government. For the reason which they unanimously alledge for it, is this, that all Governments in the World are every where fix't by the Moreous and the Provision of the Provi

Providence of the Supreme Governor of it, and for that reason they take it to be their Wildom, as well as their Dury, peaceably to acquiefce in the lettled and establish t Government, how ill loever administred, and leave the punishment of its ill-administration by particular persons, to him from whom they received their Authority. Now this Doctrine of Nonrefistance or Submiffion being to univerfally taught, and that upon fuch unalterable principles and reasons, one would think it enough to let it above all manner of exception or evalion; And yet fuch is the perverieness of the leveral Anti-Christian Factions of Christendom, that they break through all thele Restraints into all the licentiousness of Rebellion. But this they do with that impudence against the common fense of Mankind, and that violence to their own Consciences, that they would have done much more prudently to have wholly flighted and rejected the Authority of the ancient Lacrymifts, then admitting it, to make so poor and dull a mistake from its obligation. For they all agree in this one flender and inconfistent Plea, that this Doctrine was only fuited to their present necessity, because they then wanted power to make reliftance. That is to fay in one foft and friendly

friendly word, that they were a Race of the rankest Knaves and Fools that ever appeared among Mankind. That when our Saviour had strictly forbid it as inconfiftent with the nature of his Religion, and the Fundamental Doctrine of the Cross. That when the Apostles reinforced the same precept with all the earnestness and all the motives in the World, particularly out of duty to God and their Religion. And that when the whole fuccession of Christians from their time to After-ages profess'd and practiced the fame duty upon the same Principles. tell us after all this, that 'tis all Hypocrifie and Diffimulation, nothing but a Primitive Jesuitical Trick to blind their Governors with fine Stories of the unlawfulness of taking up Arms in their own defence, when the only reason of it was, that they had no Arms to take up, and that it was nothing but sufficient strength. and ability to resist, that kept them off from actual Rebellion, This is fuch a contradiction to all their avowed Protestations, to the Notoriety of the matter of Fact itself, to all their Apologies, and to their own defiance of fo durty a furmize, as amounts to no better account then giving them all the open Lye, and for that reason I think it would have been much M 2

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much better to have at first once for all trampled upon the Authority of fuch tame Creatures, then to shift it off with fuch a fenfeless and shameless Evasion. And upon that account I suppose it was, that it was at last forfaken in our late Rebellion, and new prefences devised in its flead; but of fuch a daring boldness and blasphemy against Heaven itself, that they would fooner affright a wife man to hear them, then puzzle a Fool to answer them. and those are the prophane Pleas of the Independants to justifie his Majesties Murther, viz. New Discoveries and Revelations from Heaven it felf. It feems the Villany was fo horrid in itself, that nothing less could bear out their confidence in committing it, then the immediate Authority of God himfelf. And thus they are not ashamed to tell us, 'That the Do-\* Etrine of Non-reliftance was not a fea-' fonable priviledge for that age, and there-'fore not discover'd, because it would 'have hindred the birth of Antichrift, 'whose coming into the World, God had preordained, and for the more easie letting of him in, and the appointed continuance of him in his Throne, there was a special necessity that no such Opimion as this of the lawfulness of relistance, whether true or untrue, should be taught.

taught and believed. Whereas now on the contrary that the time of God's pre-'ordination and purpose for the downfal of Antichrist drawing near, there is a 'kind of necessity that those truths, which have hitherto flept, should now be a-'wakened, as the necessary means to ru-'ine Antichrist, particularly that God 'should reveal to his faithful Ministers 'and Servants the just bounds and limits of Authority and Power, and the just 'and full extent of the lawful Liberties of those that live in subjection. is the fum of the new discoveries of John Goodwin in his Book Entituled the Anti-Cavalier. And there are divers passages to the same purpose in the Writings of John Owen about the fame time, who has warranted all the Villanies of Cromwel and his Independants, even the King's Murther itself, by pretending to new Lights and Revelations from Heaven. Particularly, That when God is doing great things, Eben Erra, he gives glorious manifestations of his ex- 16. cellencies to his secret ones. So that he that is call'd to serve Providence in high things without some especial discovery of God, works in the dark, and knows not whither be goes, and what he does, such an one travels in the Wilderness without a dire-Hing Cloud. Clear Shining from God must

be at the lattom of deep labouring with God. What is the Reason that so many in our days fet their hands to the Plough, and look back again? Begin to Serve Providence in great things but cannot finish? Give over in the heat of the day! They never had such Revelation of the mind of God upon their Spirits, Such a discovery of his Excellencies, as might serve for a bottom of such undertakings. Men must know that if God hath not appear'd to them in brightness, and shewn them the horns in his hand, hid from others, though they think highly of themselves, they'l deny God twice and thrice before the close of the work of this Age. Hence is the fuiting of great Light and great work in our days. Let new Light be derided whilft men please, he will never serve the Will of God in this Generation, who sees not beyond the line of foregoing Ages. But what is this new Light, that was never feen in the World before? to this it is fairly answered, plainly the peculiar Light of this Generation, is that discovery which the Lord hath made to his people of the mystery of Civil and Ecelefiaftical Tyranny. By which a Monarchy of some hundred years continuance, always affecting, and at length wholly degenerating into Tyranny, was destroyed, pull'd down, and freathowed up: a great and mighty Potentate.

Serm, to the Parl. April 19. 1649, p. 35.

tentate, that had caused terrour in the Land of the Living, and laid his Sword under his head, was brought to punishment for Blood, as he expresses it in his Thanksgiving for his present Majesties overthrow at Worcester, p. 15, where he very familiarly bestows upon him the honourable Titles of a Tyrant full of Revenge, a man of Blood, a Son of Belial, Abfalom, and Sheba the Son of Bichri. And laftly, he encourages the Rebels and Traytors the day immediately after his late Majesties Murther, with a jada eft Alea, i.e. the caft of a Dye thrown by the hand of God himself, whose Providence (he says) must be ferved in it, according to the discovery made of bis own unchangeable Will. But fuch pretences as these are fuch desperate pieces of Villany in themselves, so framed to ferve any wickedness in the World, fuch rank Blafphemy and Rebeltion, fo destructive of all Government and Society, that for any man to make use of them is the very height of Prophaneness, and when men are come fo far, it is in vain to confute them, because 'tis impossible to object worse things against them then they are ready to own. But however they unawares make a fair confession that their own Doctrine and Practice is contrary to the Doctrine of the Gofpel M 4 and and the Practice of its Primitive Profes fors, and then we care not whence they receive it ; for whencefoever it comes, it makes them Apostates from the Christian Faith, that did not only suppress it but expresty condemnit, so that if their new discovery be true, there is an end of the Gospel. To that height of Prophane. ness were these men blown up by their fuccess in Villany, that they would rather renounce their Saviour openly before God and the World, then quit their Rebellion. Though the highest aggravation of it is, that after to daring a defiance to the Christian Religion, they dare pretend to the highest claims of Gospel Purity & But that has ever been the Policy of Enthuhaftisto piece out their notorious forfeiture of all Integrity with infinite pride and confidence. But thus we fee it is Sabd thus it must be, that if med once for take the Doctrine of the Cross there is no flopping till they come to the Gofpel of the Pigeon and the Soymeten. HAnd thus having proved the first Proposition. the Doctrine and Practice of Submission and Passive Obedience under the severest Cruelties and Perfecutions, Inow proceed to the second thing to be considered in this Interval, viz That notwithstanding this absolute and entire submission to the Civil kept up a strict Government and vigorous Discipline within themselves by vertue of their own Authority. And that will be a new demonstration from experience and matter of Fact, that the highest exercise of Ecclesiastical Power (for then it was at the height) is so far from interfering with the Civil, that it is every way compliant with the lowest state of Subjection to it.

6. 11. In the first place it is already made evident that our Saviour by his own appointment, fetled Governours over his Church, and that these were the Apostles and their Successors the Bishops through all Ages. Now the proper office of all Government, is to see to the execution of all Laws already in force; and to enact new ones upon particular occasions and emergencies, as they shall judge most advantageous to the present state of the Society. And this was the work of the Apostles and Primitive Bishops, always to promote the Practice of their Masters own Laws among his Subjects, and as oft as it was needful, to make occasional provisions for the peace and order of the Church. Of the former I need fay nothing, because it is granted and supposed no at nothing ought to be imposed by the

on all hands, but of the latter, it will to requifite to give a full account, because though it is the only means that our saviour has provided for the Unity of his Church, and though by the use of it the Church was preferved in Peace and unity in its best and purest times, and lastly, though without it there can be no Government in the Church, nor any bar to endless confusions, yet I know not by what blind and unhappy fate it is become a popular and a reigning principle among us. All Innovators lay it at the bottom of their new Projects of Reformation, it is the fundamental Principle of Grotius as well as all other Erastians, Legislativan Potestatem jure divino non competere ec-De Imperio clesia, that the Church has no Legislative 44. 8 S. Power by Divine Right. At present today nothing to the falfhood of the Proposition itself, yet methinks Gratius, who was fo well acquainted with the Records of the ancient Church, of all men should not have faid it, when it was fo constantly both challenged and put in practice, and that not only all the time before the Emperors became Christians, but after. Buthe was then a young man, and the Book is written with great rawness, and betrayslamentable want of confideration. It is the very Foundation of all Independency, that nothing ought to be imposed by the Go-

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Governours of the Church upon the Members of it, but what is clearly revealed in the word of God. And that there is no other Rule of Unity then that rule prescribed by our Lord himself, which is so far from truth, so inconsistent with the Being of a Church, that it is a meer conmadiction to the Nature and the use of Government, whose proper Office it isto make Provisions for the Peace and good Order of the Society, upon all occasions, by the common rules of Prudence and Discretion, and fuch things it is necessary to leave to the judgment and determination of Men, because their convenience and usefulness is alterable with change of times and circumstances, and therefore must be lest to the liberty of the Governors of the Church to impose or remove them as they shall judge most fuitable to the present State of things. This was the standing rule in the Primitive Church, that points of Faith were unalterable, and when they were once determin'd by the Judgment of the Catholick Church, they were never after that to be debated, but as for all Laws of Discipline they were alterable with change of times and circumstances. And to name one for all, Regula quidem fidei De Virgin (Jays Tertullian) una omnino est, fola immobilis & irreformabilis, Hac lege fi-

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dei manente, cætera jam difciplinæ & conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis. The Rule of Faith is always the same, this alone is unchangeable and unreformable. But as this remains forever, so matters of Discipline and Govern ment admit the Novelty of change and amendment. So that next to the Fundamental Charter of being a Church, this is the grand Principle of its Government, that its Governours be endued with an Authority of imposing some things that are not required in the Word of God, because the Church must be govern'd as all humane Societies are, i.e. by men of common sense, that have Wit enough to judge what is fit to be done upon any emergent cases, and whose Authority is sufficient to oblige the Members of the Socie ty to their Decrees, and without it there could neither be Church nor Government. So that this principle is so little suited to the state of Church-Purity, (as the Schismatiques pretend ) that it is only fet up as an impregnable pretence for everlasting Schisms and Divisions. For it was never flarted or fo much as thought of till t'other day, when the Puritan Faction for want of fomething more material to object against the Constitutions of the Church, were forced at last to make this want obilis & irreformabilis. Hac lege fi-

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their main quarrel, that they were not prescrib'd in the Word of God. And as long as they were refolved to fland to that Exception, they were fecure in their Schism: for it is an Objection not against the particular Constitutions of this Church, but the practice of the Universal Church, and the exercise of any power in all Churches of the World, and therefore it being fo good a Fund for Confusion, it is for that reason so carefully nursed by the Independant Faction at this day; it is the refult of all 7.0's. Books about Schism, because it makes all peace and settlement an impossible thing, when there is no fuch rule of worship or discipline as is pretended, by attending to which the Unity of the Church is to be preserved; and therefore to refer us to a means of Peace that is not in being, is to leave us remedilefs. And if the Church may not make occasional Provisions to restrain some mens extravagancies, and to fettle good order, all men are let loofe to all the follies in the World, and it will look more like a Bedlam than a Christian Church. In short, it ferves to no other purpose then to be an everlasting pretence of Sedition, when it takes away not only from the Church, but from the Civil Government too all Authority of making any Lawsfor the fettlement

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ment of Religion. And yet this very Principle of Confusion, this Darling of Independency, this bulwark of all Schifm is crept into the Church of England it felf, or forme pretenders to it, and is laid down by our Reconcilers and Peacemakers as the first Rule of Accommodation between the Church of England, and the present Dissenters. Though if it were admitted, the different Parties would be fo far from being taken into the Bosom or the Peace of the Church that it would only widen the differences, and harden them in their Schisms. For first the contest is not primarily about unferiptural Impolitions, but about divine Commands; they contend that their Form of Church Government is of God's Institution, and that the form now establish't in England is an humane Government fet up against it, and destructive of it; this is the whole design of Mr. B's Treatise of Episcopacy, and this has ever been the main controversie from the beginning of the Schism, whether the Episcopal or the Classical Government were fet up by our Saviour in the Christian Church (for Men were not so unthinking in those days as to imagine he should fet up the Society of his Church without fetling any Government

ment in it ) and therefore it is but an imperfect, a partial, and a treacherous account of the Separation, to state the controversie only in Ceremonies, when the main controversie has been from the beginning to this very day about a matter of Divine Right, and therefore to take no notice of that in the History of the Schiffn, is to intimate, that as to that part of the controversie, neither had the better of the other, but they both equally contended about what never was, and that all the blame of the Separatifts is their refufing to submit to some lawful Impolitions: But that reaches not their cause, the ground of their Separation is pretended Divine Law, they must be bearen out of that, or they must be let alone. But fecondly, this Principle of accommodation by rejecting unfcriptural Conditions of Communion, would be fo far from reconciling the Differers to the Church, that it would only give up the Churches Gaufe to their demands, and justifie them in their Schism, because they diffent not from her in any matters clearly reveal'd, which alone the Church has Power to impose; and to charge the Church of Tyranny, for daring to impose any other conditions of Communion. then what are imposed by Divine Authority.

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rity. An excellent way of accommodal tion this in behalf of the Church of England, to condemn her whole practice of illegal and unwarrantable Usurpation, and allow the Pleas of the Diffenters just and reasonable: And, what is worst of all, to take away all Government in the Church for ever, and the Church it felf too, when it is evident from common fense, that it can never subsist without a Legislative Authority within it self, but that I shall have occasion to discourse of more copiously hereafter, when I come to shew what injury is done to the Church of England by these false Principles of accommodation. I shall at prefent content my felf with proving it by experience, and reprefenting the particular Laws made by the Ancient Governors of the Church from time to time, to fecure and provide for its own Peace and Tranquility. And by it I shall make good these three considerable Points. First, the great Authority inherent in them, and independent on any Civil Power. Secondly, their great wifdom in the use and exercise of it, for by the particulars it will appear, that they generally acted upon wife and prudent reafons. And thirdly, the absolute necessity of it, when we shall see by the Example, of

of every age, that there is no way of preferving any manner of Peace in the Church without it.

And to begin with the first Decree made by the Apostles themselves, to act commodate the contrary prejudices of Jews and Gentiles: If they had obliged the Gentiles to comply with the whole Law of Moses, that would have look't like an attempt to bring them under the old intolerable Bondage, and tempt them rather to renounce Christianity then submit to fuch a grievous Yoke: And if they had wholly exempted them from the Mosaick Law, that would have as much endangered the Apostacy of the Jews thinking that they should thereby have renounced the God of the Law; for it was not easie to every capacity to distinguish between rejecting the Law and the Lawgiver. And therefore to fatisfie and avoid the prejudices of both Parties, they agreed To lay no greater burthens att is then these necessary things, that they abt 20. Stain from Meats offer'd to Idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood. Where by things necesfary, it is plain that they mean things necessary at that time and place ; for that they were not fo in all times and places is evident, not only from the directidiffoute

direction of their Synodical Epiftle to the particular Churches of Syria and Cilicia, but from their not imposing the same Decree upon other Churches, that were not in the fame Circumstances. In the Churches of Syria and Cilicia, that confined upon Judeu, the Jews were very numerous, and therefore to avoid offending, i.e. tempting them to renounce the Christian Faith, it was requisite to make it a standing rule to them at that time, that all Christians abstain from the Oblations to Idols, and that would whole ly prevent their great fear of Idolatry. But on the contrary, because the Church of Corinth confilted chiefly of Gentiles, the fame rule was not made peremptory and universal to them, but they were left to their own liberty to eat Meats of fered to Idols, as they judged most con-fiftent with Christian prudence and charity, as they are directed by their Ghoftly Father St. Paul. This is all that I can make of that great Council; and though they were endued with the Holy Ghoft, yet they proceeded by no other Rule then common prudence and diferetion. And if they had taken the fame method that our Schismatiques and Pacificators would oblige the prefent Church to, to fearch for a determination of this cafual dispute

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dispute in their Masters own Laws, I doubt they would have been very much at a loss to have found any thing like such a decree amongst all his Precepts. And yet there was as much reason that they should refer all Acts of Government to be determined by his own express Decree, as that their Successors should refer

them to theirs.

But next to this Apostolical Synod, the Apostolical Canons are the greatest and earliest Demonstration of the Legislative Authority of the Christian Church, being compiled by their next Successors in the fecond and third Centuries, by which we understand the true settlement of the Church as the Apostles left it, for all the Canons relating to Government are no new Laws, but only declarations of old Customs; so that though they were not Apostolical Laws, they were true and early Records of Apoltolical Customs, and by them the practice of Church-Government was fo entirely fetled, that they were ever after the Rule and Pattern to the determinations of following Councils. And most of the chief Canons, both General and Provincial, were only Ratifications of thefe old Decrees, to recover their just Authority, when any of them had been neglected

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or violated, or additional provisions in pursuance of their general design in new particular Cases. For which it seems every Age found matter enough to suppress some Mens extravagant and wanton fancies: and it was the new rifing of Schiffus and Herefies that gave occasion to enacting all the Laws of the Church. But these Apostolical Canons being as it were the Institutes of Magna Charta of the Ecclesiastical Laws, and being withal enacted in this Period of time, that we are now in, by pure Ecclesiastical Authority, I shall give a brief view of them, to let the Reader see the exact Model of the Primitive Church, as reduced to practice, and brought to perfection by the Apostles and their immediate Successors. In the first place therefore, because nothing has fo great an influence upon the welfare of the Church, as the fetting up good and wife Governors over it, great care is taken against rash Ordination of Bishops; so that though every Bishop has an inherent Right in himself to conveigh his own Authority to another, yet is it here fixt, and has remain'd fo through all Ages, as a flanding Law to the Church, that every Bishop be Consecrated by three Bishops at least, or two in cases of necessity. Now though this Rule has been

been observed and practiced in all Churches over all the World, and is so highly useful to the good Government of the Church, by not entrusting a matter of fuch weight to the difcretion of a fingle Person, yet I believe it will be a very hard task to find any thing like a clear Precept requiring it in the Holy Scrip-So apparently repugnant is the principle of the Projectors of Accommodation against unscriptural impositions to the very first Law that was made in the Christian Church after the Apostles. and if they pleased it might as well be used to take away this prudent Practice, as any other Ceremony whatfoever. Now the Bishop being with this great care and caution admitted to his Truft, he was confider'd in a treble capacity; first in relation to his own Diocess; secondly to the Bishops of the Province; thirdly to the Catholick Church. Within his own Diocess he had the Supreme Government; for every Diocess, though it be but a Member of the Catholick Church, is yet a distinct Society of it self, and ordinarily Govern'd by a Jurisdiction within it felf, and that was by the Bishop and his Colledge of Presbyters; in which he enjoyed fuch a Supremacy, that no act of the Presbyters could be valid without N 3 his

his Confent and Authority; and yet his Supremacy was fo confin'd, that he could as little act without the concurrence of his Presbyters as they without his. Now this Epifcopal Superiority acting only it conjunction with the Presbyters, was the most proper method that could have been contrived to prevent confusion on one hand, and Tyranny on the other. For where a Body of Men act in an equality of Power without some real Authority above them, nothing can be expe-cted but perpetual Factions and Animo-And on the other fide a Power purely Monarchical, without any Affoclates in the Government, may eafily, if it please, degenerate into Tyranny, and When it does fo, has nothing to restrain it; and though Tyranny be an ugly thing in Civil Government, yet in the Ecclesialtical it is far more indecent, because Church Power is founded upon the profession of Meekness and Humility. But though the Bishops ever associated the Presbyters in Authority with them from the time of the Apostles, yet I imagine that there are no Footleps of any Divine Command requiring it, though its early practice may prove it an Apo-ficilcal Cuftom and Tradition, but if it was, it was (for any thing we know) their

their own voluntary act, as becoming the modesty of Christian Governors.

But the Jurifdiction of the Church being thus feated in the Bifhop and his Colledge of Presbyters, matters were fo effectually ordered, that their Acts were not only valid within their own Precincts, but in the Catholiek Church all the can. 12. World over. Thus it is Enacted that if any Clergy-man or Lay-man excommunicate or any way unfit to be received. shall be received in another City ( i. e. according to the Language of those times, in another Diocess) without commendatory Letters, both he that receives him Can 15. and he that is received, shall be excommunicate. And if any Clergy-man shall quit his own Diocess without his Bishops leave, he shall be degraded from his office. can. 16. And the Bishop that shall receive such an one in his Clerical Capacity shall be excommunicate, os Sisarnas aragias as a Master of confusion, or an enemy to the peace and unity of the Catholick Church. No Clergy-man that is excom- can. 32: municate by his own Bishop shall be abfolved by another, as long as that Bishop lives. And no Clergy-man of what Or- can 33. der soever, not a Bishop himself is to be fo much as relieved, without commendatory Letters. No Bishop is to ordain in can 350 N 4 anoanothers Diocess upon pain of Deposition. There is no Flight or Appeal from one fingle Bishop to another, but if any man thought himself aggrieved by his own Bishop, he had power of Appeal to the Bishops of the Province, who were to affemble twice a year in Council to Debate Matters of great weight in the Church, especially to review the Acts of Government in every particular Diocess of the Province, that if they found any wrong Judgment, they might reverse it, or if any harsh or too severe, they might mitigate it. Here is all the care in the World taken to preserve the Efficacy of the Discipline in every Church, and it was fo religiously observed in the Primitive times, that I do not remember one instance of its being violated till the time of the Constantinopolitan Usurpation. And it is reckoned among the many other strange Enormities of Diescorus by the Council of Calcedon in their Epistle to the Emperours Valentinian and Marcian, in which they give an account of the reasons of his Deposition, viz. That he had received feveral Persons legally excommunicate by his fingle Authority in contempt of the Holy Canons, which command, that those that are excommunicate by one, be not received in-

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to Communion by another. And in purfuance of the foremention'd Apostolical Canons to preserve the Authority of every Bishop within his own Jurisdiction, it was afterward decreed by the Nicene can. 5. Council, that there shall be no redress, no nor complaint against the Sentence of the Diocesan Bishop; unless it be at the meeting of the Provincial Synod. And it is faid that at the motion of Atticus Bishop of Constantinople for prevention of Frauds and Cheats in Canonical Epiftles, fuch an artificial form was contrived by the Council, as was impossible to be counterfeited. The form is extant in Gratian Distinct. 73. it is somewhat remarkable and very well worth the perusal. But it is plain that they confined every Bishops power within his own Circuit, and every Clergy-man to his own Bishops Jurisdiction. And all the following Councils stick close to the same principles of Discipline, though the African Bishops were more strict then other Churches in this as well as all other points of Government, no Travelling among them without dimissory Letters. And if any Bishop can 26. carried a complaint to any Forraign can 31. Church, he stood ip so facto excommunicate to all the African Churches.

But

But lastly, beside this form of Provincial Government, in which all matters of common concernment were determined by the major Vote of the Epifeopal Synod. and by which all the Diocesses within the Province were united and cemented into one Communion, there was a common tve of Government between the Bishops of feveral Provinces, in whose Concord confifted the Unity of the Catholick Church fo much talked of by the Ancients. And this was chiefly kept up by Communication of Synodical Letters, which was not an Arbitrary correspondence, but an indifpenfable duty of every Church to every Church, fo that whatever Bishop neglected it, he was for that reason cast by all others out of the Communion of the Catholick Church, and by this device every Act of Discipline in every Church was of force in all Churches all the World over, and whoever was taken in a Member of one Church, had a right from it to communicate in all Churches, and whoever was cast out of the fame, stood excommunicate to the whole Christian World. And this was done with all fecurity and expedition by feeling the power of correspondence in every Province upon the Metropolitan, and by the mutual intercourse of Metropolitans,

politans, all the general Affairs of the Church were transacted. And therefore upon the choice of a new Metropolitan. it was the custom to fignishe his Election to all the fest, that they might know to whom to direct their corresponding and communicatory Letters. Thus the Synod of Antioch, that deposed Paulus Samosutenus in the year 170, Write to Dionysius Bishop of Rome, and Maximus Bishop of Alexandria, and all other Churches through the whole World, that they had deposed Paulus, and placed Domnus in his stead, and this, say they, We therefore fignifie to you, that you might Eufeb. bift. write to him, and receive communicatory 1. 7. c. 30. Letters from him. Thus both Cornelius and Novatian, when they contended for Epift 42. the Bishoprick of Rome, acquaint St. Cyprian with their Elections, who communicates the matter to all the Bishops within his Province, and by that means the Election of Cornelius was approved not only by himfelf, but by all his Collegues, as he always calls them. And when St. Cyprian Writes to Steven Bishop of Rome to procure the Deposition of Marcian Bishop of Arles, he desires, when it is done, to inform him who is chosen into his place, that he might know to whom to direct his Letters, and his Brethren.

(1881) Epist. 67. thren, fignifica plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut fctamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, & cui scribere debeamus. And when Fortunius the Donatist Bishop had the con-Epift. 163. fidence to affirm to St. Austin that his v. Carthag. Church was the Catholick Church, and Collat. p. 631. Edi-pionis Bald- kept up the Catholick Communion, St. Aust in rebukes his prefumption only by dewini: manding of him whether himselfkept correspondence with other Bishops by communicatory Letters. And when Pope Zofimus took upon him to constitute Patroclus Bishop of Arles, Metropolitan of the Province of Vienna, he declares that no literæ formate, or corresponding Letters shall be

Epift. Vigil. 10.

valid, but what are fign'd by him. And fo Pope Vigilius, when he restored the fame Preheminence to Aurelius Bishop of Arles after some considerable interruption of it, annexes this Authority to the See, ne quis sine formatà tuæ fraternitatis ad longinquiora loca audeat proficisci, that no man without his Certificate ought to be own'd in Forraign Churches. By all which it appears that the Power of granting Letters communicatory out of the Province, was one branch of the Metropolitical Jurisdiction. And that beside the power of fummoning Provincial Councils was the only thing that he was empowr'd direit.

empowr'd to do by his own fingle Author rity. For the practice of it being altogether occasional and uncertain, and yet very frequent, it was necessary to entrust it with some single person; and for that, none fitter then the chief Bilhop that refided in the chief City. And for the difcharge of his trust he gave an account of this as well as all other parts of his Jurifdiction, in the Provincial Synod, that was affembled twice a year, to take a review of all things that concern'd the state of the whole Province in reference to all Churches without it, as well as of the Government of every particular Diocess within it. And thus by this subordination of Diocefan Bishops to Provincial Synods, and correspondence of Provincial Synods with each other, was the Government and Discipline of every Church effectual in all Churches, because no Member of one Church could be admitted into Communion with another without his Letters-Testimonial. Whereby it was so order'd that whoever was admitted into one Church, was admitted into all; and whoever was excommunicated out of one. was flut out of all. And no wonder then that the Canons of the Church are so careful in this part of Discipline between Church and Church, when the Efficacy

Efficacy of all other Acts of Discipline depend wholly upon it. For if a Sentence given in one Church, were not valid in every Church, it was in any mans power to elude it, only by dipping into the next Jurisdiction. And therefore be-cause nothing could be more pernicious to the whole Discipline of the Catholick Church, then for the Bilhop of one Church to receive and protect the Member of another against the Sentence or without the confent of his own Bishop, for that reason it is, that the Primitive Church was more watchful in that part of Discipline then any other, and for the fame reason tis, that I have here traced its practice, thereby to direct us to the true way of restoring the effectual Discipline of the Ancient Church in Christen-dom. Which has for many ages been with scandal and dishonesty enough utterly defeated by one fingle Judicatures making it felf a common Sanctuary against the Jurisdiction of all other Churches. till this intolerable abuse and corruption be removed, it is in vain to hope for any amendment of the poor diffrested and despised Estate of the Christian Church, and fome men have been pleased to express it, whether out of fcorn or pity I know not, but if the Church will crouch under

under fuch a pertifogging abuse, it de-

But by the Premisses we see that whilst the Church preserved its Original liberty it wasable to preferve its Peace and Government too by observing the Canonical obligation to mutual Concord among all Christian Bishops, and that was so far from being arbitrary, that whoever broke the Rule, was by it immediately deprived of all Trust and Authority in it. And the practice of this Discipline was preferved entire and effectual in the Church. till the fettlement of Patriarchates, who swallowed up this Authority, as they did all the other Metropolitical Rights, into themselves, till at last the Pope swallowed up theirs. And then the whole power of granting commendatory or dimillory Letters, was in all Provinces entirely appropriated to their Legates, This is a thert account of the Polity of the Primitive Church, and in it I think all things are so neatly composed for an easie. a civil, and an effectual Government that I may fafely challenge all the great pretenders to Politiques and Framers of Common-wealths, to find out a more useful or more artificial Scheme of Government.

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But beside these great and more lasting Rules of prudence and good order, they were forced to make many occasional Laws to restrain some Mens particular follies, and fuperstitions. I will for brevity fake instance only in two Apostolical Canons. In the fifth Canon, the Clergy of all degrees are forbid to put away their Wives upon pretence of Religion, under pain first of suspension, and if they perfift deprivation. The occafion of which Canon was the Opinion of feveral Hereticks, especially the followers of Saturninus, of whom Irenaus reports. Nubere & generare & Satana dicunt effe : that they affirm'd, That Marriage and Propagation was the Devil's invention; and this Opinion grew prevalent in the fecond Century; fo that Teriullian among many others was carried away with it: But more especially, That the Clergy were bound to leave their Wives, that they might devote themselves the more entirely to Prayers Fastings, and Religious Exercises, the Devotions of married Persons being less pure and less acceptable to God. Now to stop this Superstition, as if Marriage were any way inconfistent with the Service of God, this Canon was at first Enacted. and is afterward Ratified by divers foldul. lowing

£ib. 1.

lowing Councils. And the truth of it is, this Opinion of the great merit of Carlibacy was one of the first Superstitions that invaded the Christian Church, and was in every Age more busic and for-ward than any other, though I do not find that it could ever obtain the force of Law in the Eastern Church, till the Council in Trullo in the year 691, by whom Bishops, and no other, are forbidden to cohabit with their Wives after Confecration; and as that is the first Canon of this kind, fo is it a flat contradiction to the Apostolical Canon. And though the Council endeavour to excuse it, yet they do but the more grofly entangle themselves by their own Apology, and instead of defending their fault, confess it. For when they have made the Canon, they tell us, that they do not intend thereby to contradict the Apostolical Canon, when the very making of it is an express contradiction to it. And in the very next Canon they condemn the Church of Rome for prohibiting marriage to Priests and Deacons, and make good their Decree from this very Canon, that equally allows it to all Ordors. But above all commend me to Gratian Diffinits upon this Argument, who when he has 30, 31: in two whole Chapters recited feveral An=

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Ancient Canons of the Church against this Superstition, especially those severe ones of the Council of Gangra, and last of all this last mention'd Canon in Trullo, in which the marriage of Presbyters and Deacons is exprelly warranted, he begins his next Chapter with this general Affertion, Servanda est ergo continentia ab omnibus in sacris ordinibus constitutis. And then proves it by the Decrees of later Popes, injoining Calibacy. as a Duty of Piety to all Orders of the Clergy. But if they can thus confidently justifie their Innovations out of the Ancients, by concluding contrary to their own avowed and express Sense; I confess they may make good any Cause, though I should think it would be much more adviseable to let fall such a Cause. as can be no better way defended. Another remarkable Law that was Enacted during this Interval by meer Ecclesiastical Authority, was the exclusion of all voluntary Eunuchs from Holy Orders. And that was made upon occasion of the Herefie of the Valefians, who thought themselves bound to this severity against themselves, by too rigid an Interpretation of some passages of our Saviour, especially that of St. Matthew's Gospel, 19. 12. And the same Canon was afterward

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ward renewed in a Synod at Alexandria against Origen upon the fame account. and after that by the great Council of Nice, upon occasion of the fact of Leonrius, who being a Presbyter, and very much delighting in the conversation of a young Virgin, by name Euftolia, and being upbraided with the fcandal of ufing to much freedom with her, to prevent that, without losing her Society, he made the fame attempt upon himself that Origen had done, for which he was deposed by the Council, though afterwards he was, contrary to the Canon, or rather in defiance to the Council, promoted by the Eusebian Faction, with whom he fided, to the great See of Antioch. But hereby we may fee the necessity of a Legiflative Power in the Church, without which there would be no means to reftrain all the wild Conceits and Extravagancies that Superstition can blow into Mens fancies. So exorbitant a Principle is it, so inconsistent with the Peace and prefervation of the Church, so absurd, so foolish, and contrary to the Common Sense of Mankind, that nothing ought to be imposed by the Governors of the Church, but what is expresly imposed by the Word of God. There are many more Examples in this Interval, both of A 2 the

the fettlement of that Polity in the Church that I have above described, and of divers wife and prudent Laws made upon particular Occasions; but to avoid being too tedious, and yet to do the work. effectually, I shall confine my self to the Writings of St. Cyprian, in whose time the State of the Church was brought to perfection, and who, I may be bold to fay, understood it as well as any Writer of the Christian Church, either before or after his own time, and who has stated the whole matter with the greatest clearness and strength of Reason, and reduced it to practice with the most unblameable prudence and wifdom, and therefore I shall give a more particular and exact account of his Sense of the Government and Unity of the Catholick Church, both for the enlightening of some Mens minds, who pretend to be fo dull, that they cannot understand how it should be govern'd in way of external Polity, and for a proof of the exact agreement of the Church of England in its design'd Model of Reformation, with this Ancient State of the Christian Church. This is made much more easie at this time by the late labour of a very learned Prelate of our own in digesting his Writings, that had hitherto lay not a little confused, into their

their due and exact order of time. For when we certainly know at what time, and upon what occasion every discourse was written, it must needs make it much more easie, and much more useful then otherwise the discourse could have made it felf. For that Unity is a very defirable thing is agreed on all hands, the only difpute is, wherein it consists: Some will have it to be only an Union of Faith and Charity; others of External Polity, fo as that all Christians are some way or other United under one Government. And thefe we may fubdivide into two Parties: Either those that place the Unity of the Catholick Church in a Subjection to one fingle Monarch: Or those that set up an Obligation to a Political Unity among all Churches under feveral Governments. So that though every particular Church or Diocess have Supreme Government within it felf, as to all things that concern its own State, yet it is accountable to the Catholiek Church, i.e. to all other Churches for the Peace of the whole. For though a Church may be at Unity within it felf, yet if it do any thing injurious to the peace of Government in any other Church, it becomes Schismatical to the whole Body of the Catholick Church; prefuming, as much as in it lies.

lies, to overthrow the Discipline of all other Churches. This as I take to be the true State of the Controversie, so to be St. Cyprian's sense of it,

6. 12. And the first Principle that runs through all his Writings, and lies at the bottom of all his Notions concerning Church Unity, is, that there is but one Episcopacy setled in the Church by Divine Appointment, distributed among the feveral Bishops of the Catholique Church, every one retaining the whole Power within his own Bishoprick, as he expresses it like a Lawyer, Episcopatus unus est, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. There is but one Episcopacy, of which every one holds his own share with full Title and Possession be For the word in solidum is a Law-term denoting a Plenitude of Title; fo that though an Estate be divided into two parts, yet both inherit their own share in folidum; and so if two Men be bound for the fame Debt; if they are bound each Man in partem. they are obliged to pay but half share, but if they are obliged in solidum, either of them is bound to pay all. And this is St. Cyprian's State of Episcopacy, that though many share the Authority, yet every Bishop has as full possession of his

De unitate Eccles. own share within it self, as if there were

no other. Seeing ( as he elsewhere expresses it ) a Parcel of the Flock is. allotted to the care of its particular Paftor, which every net, rationem fui one is bound to guide actus Domino redand govern, and to diturus.

Cum fingulis Pastoribus portio Gregis fit adscripta. quam regat unufquisque ac guber-

account to God for

the discharge of his Episcopal Office. Neither was this his fingular Notion, but the unanimous and fettled Sense of the Ancients: Thus the Author of Clement's Institutions brings in the Apostles Writing after this manner to all Christian Bishops: We being all gathered together have written to you this form of Catholique Doctrine, For

the Confirmation of Es Basnery Hor vinor you to whom is en- The Trad one onetrusted the Catho- γοπην πεπισευμένων, lique Episcopacy of lib. 6. cap. 14.

the Church, This

was the entire Sense of all Ignatius his Epistles, which suppose the full Jurisdiction of every particular Church to be placed in the Bishop and his own ClerNecesse est itaque tot actantas Ecclesias unam esse illam ab Apostolis primam, ex qua omnes, sic omnes Prima & Apostolicæ. De Præscrip.

So Tertullian, It is necessary that so many & great Churches should be that one and first derived from the Apostles, from whom all are derived, and therefore they are

V. Can. Apost. 35.

all but one, and yet several Apostolical Churches. So all the Ancient Canons inhibit every fingle Bishop, even the Metropolitan to intermeddle in anothers Diocess, upon pain of Deposition. Neither is this Supremacy of Power in every Bishop any abatement of the just Rights of Metropolitans; For in the Primitive Church ( as I have shewn in a former Treatife ) Netropolitans had no Power over inferiour Bishops, but in conjunction of the Synod of the Province. So that it was the Synod, not the Metropolitan, that had the Superiour Power over every fingle Bishop. And it is evident that he was as liable to the Sentence of the Synod, as the meanest Bishop of the Province, as appears from the case of Paulus Samofatenus; and Metropolitans, confidering their number, were as often cenfured and Deposed as other Bishops. And this is the reason of St. Cyprian's so earneftly earnestly disclaiming the Title of Episcopus Episcoporum, because though his own Metropolitical Jurisdiction were of great extent, yet as a fingle Bishop he had no Superiority over any other Bishop; no Authority to punish his Misdemeanors; to receive Appeals from his Sentence; or to order and rectifie any thing within his Diocess. All fuch Power was to be exerted only in Synodical Conventions. in which he had the Honour and Authority of Presidency, but the Jurisdiction was feated in the Body of the Council, without whose concurrence had he prefumed to do any thing more then any other Bishop, his least punishment had been certain Deposition. This was the real State of things in the Ancient Church, and Metropolitans never took upon them any Power over their Collegues or Brother-Bishops by their own fingle Authority till after the Papal Ufurpation, neither then did they challenge it as Metropolitans, but as Legates to the Pope, and that was one of the highest branches of the Usurpation. But before that time the Governours of the nurch were not more watchful against any one thing then that one Bishop should not claim any power over another.

Now this Principle being first laid, That the whole Episcopal Authority is vested in every Bishop, the next that is confequent upon it, is, That whoever feparates from the Communion of his Bilhop, or fets up another against him is a Schifmatick : and this was the Subject of almost all his Epistles concerning the Refirtution of the Laph, or fuch as fell in time of Perfecution. For they according to the Ancient Discipline of the Church, were not to be received into Communion but by these degrees. First they were to Petition to be admitted to Penance, and that upon confession of their fault was granted, and then having undergon the Penance imposed, they made a publick Confession of their Crime before the Congregation; and upon that they received Absolution by the Impofition of the hands of the Bilhop and C'ergy, and after that they were admitted to the Holy Eucharist or Full-Communion. But instead of this solemn feverity of Discipline, some of his own Presbyters had been fo rash as without the confent of their Bishop to give them entire Absolution, and admit them to entire Communion. This was the opening of that unhappy Schism that afterward created

fo much trouble Ante actam Preni- Es 15. Eboth to himself and tentiam, ante exothe Church of God, mologefin graviffi-For when thefe mi atque extrmei Presbyters had fo il- delicti factam; ante legally restor'd those manum ab Episco-Enormous offenders po & Clero in parthey prevail'd by nitentiam impositheir Importunity tam, offerre pro ilupon the good Natilis & Eucharistian ture of the Martyrs dare. No bilt lie ho and Confessors to with for much cour rage and devotion kept the Faith of our Lord , ought to yatur fides domibe as deneful of keep- no, ab eifdem tex ing his Law and

Discipline +.

intercede for their Restitution; it being an Honour and Prerogative allowed them in the ancient Church to admit Sinners more easily to repentance v. Baron. upon their Request, because they had by 4n. 253the constancy of their fufferings compenfated for the fcandal that the others had given by their Fall. But inflead of interceding for their admission to Penance these well meaning men move St. Cyprian for their complete Absolution without it, to which he replies, that they who had

> Utà quib tam de- Epift. 15: vote & fortiter ferquoque & disciplina +Epift. 16. domini refervetur.

But per totum.

But yet he is willing to excuse them not only because they did it out of ignorance of the Laws of the Church, and out of modesty, being meerly overcome by the importunity of others, but because they proceeded no farther than only to intercede with him, in whom they acknowledge the Power and Authority of granting Absolution, whereas the Presbyters had subverted all the Order of the Church, by prefuming upon it without him. These slighting

re, quem nobis beati tyrs & Confessors care Martyres cum con- fully observed, & defessoribus servant, contemptà domini God, which those Good lege & observatione quam iidem Martyres & Confessores tenendam mandant, ante extinctum perfecutionis metű, ante reditű nostrű,ante ipfum pene Martyrű excessum,communicent cum lapfiis & offerant, & Eucharistiam tradant.

old it commended that dignity and ref-Hi sublato hono- pett which the Mar-Spifing the Law of Men required to be kept, before the fear of Persecution is over, before our Return, before the very confummation of the Martyrs them-Selves, communicate with and give the Eucharist to the Apostates. And therefore at the beginning

ing of this Epistle in which he so candidly excuses the Martyrs, he reproves the rashness and disorder of the Presbyters with more then usual warmth and vehe-

mence of Expression.What Punishment ought we to expect from the divine displeasure, when some of the Presbyters forgetting both the Gospel and them-Selves, meither regarding the future Judgment of God, nor the Authority of their Bishop, Challenge what was never done under our Predecessors, the whole Power of the Churchtothemselves to the reproach and contempt of their Bishop: These are

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Quod enim periculum non metuere debemus de offensa domini; quando aliqui de Presbyteris nec Evangelii nec loci fui memores, fed neque futurum domini judicium, neque nunc præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessofactum est. cum contumelià & contemptuPræpofiti totum fibi vendicent.

very severe words, and the Crime it seems was look't upon as a thing so horrid at that time, that it was till then without Precedent. And therefore for the prevention of any further mischies and scandal, he writes at the same

time

Epist. 17.

time an earnest Letter to the People themfelves to warn them against the diforderly Actings of his Presbyters. But in his next Letter confidering the fickly Seafon of the year, he gives power not only to the Presbyters but to the Deacons to grant Absolution in case of Sickness, by vertue of this his Commission; for the Deacons had no Authority of their own to do it, and therefore what they did, was valid purely by vertue of his Deputation. and the validity of Ecclesiastical ministrations depends not upon the outward Act. but the Authority by which they are warranted. But it happened that about this time Celerinus a Confessor at Rome Writes to Lucianus a Confessor at Carthage to grant Absolution to some women that had fallen in the Persecution, but had made ample fatisfaction for it by their eminent Hospitality to the Confessors. Upon this Lucianus with the rest of his Brethren with great heat and rashness grant their peremptory Absolution, and fignifie their resolution to St. Cyprian with a threatning, if he refused to joyn with them, that they would not communicate with him. To fuch a wild abuse was the customary priviledge of meer intercession grown, that they came at last to fuperfede and over-rule all the Episcopal Autho-

Epift. 22.

Authority. Upon this St. Cyprian writes a peremptory Epistle to his Clergy, commanding Obedience to his former Orders, Epist. 26. to restore no man to the Church till it first pleased God to restore peace to it. Instatar interim Epistolis, &c. And the mischies of this licentious Practice to the Subversion of the Peace and Discipline of the Christian Church he represents in an Epistle to the Clergy of Rome. That this did but expose the

Bishops to the hatred and envy of the People, that when they would make particular enquiry into every mans case they would seem to the People to defraud them of that savour that was bestowed on them by the Martyrs, which had been already the cause of some Seditions in his Province.

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Quæ res majorem nobis conflat invidiam, ut nos cum fingulorum caufaș audire & excutere cæperimus; videamur multis negare, quod fe nunc omnes jactant à Martyribus & Confessoribus accepisse. Denique hujus feditionis Origo jam cepit, &c.

&c. And they in an Eloquent Epistle Epist. 30. written by Novatian himself, as St. Cyprian informs us in his Epistle to Antonianus, approve his Judgment, and declare themselves peremptory in his Opinion, and

Epift. 28.

and so do Moyses and the Confessors then in Prison at Rome, to whom St. Cyprian at the same time writ about the same matter. Upon this he writes to the Lapsithemselves that had received Absolution without his Authority, to let them know that whatever was done without the Bishop was void and good for nothing. The Ordination of Bishop

Per temporum & fuccessionum vices, Episcoporum Ordinatio, & EcclesiæRatio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, & omnis actus Ecclefiæ per 'eosdem Præpogubernetur. fitos Cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum fit, miror quofdam audaci temeritate fic mihi fcribere voluisse, ut Ecclefiæ nomine literas facerent. Quando Ecclesia in Episcopo & Clero & in omnibus stantibus sit constituta.

Shops and the Succession of the Church run together hand in hand through all times and ages, so as that the Church is built upon the Bishop, and every act of the Church is authorised by the Bishops; seeing therefore this is establish't by the Will of God, I cannot but stand amazed at the bold rashness of some Ti.e. Lucianus & the Confessors that dare write to me that they may give Letters of pardon in the name of the Church, when the Church is made

up of the Bishop the Clergy and the faithful Layity has the first contriver of the Schiffe

feeing himfelf and his Party thus univerfally run down, fets Fælicissimus in the head of it, by his boldness and impudence to keep up the finking caufe, though Baronius is here fo far mistaken as to make An. 234. Falicissimus the first Founder of the N. 32. Schifm, notwithstanding St. Cyprian has fo expresly given that honour to Donarus together with the occasion of his Quarrel, which was nothing elfe then a defign to escape the Discipline of the Church, to which he knew himself fo obnoxious that he could no other way avoid it but by raising Tumults. St. Cyprian after a very fevere Character of his wicked terms per of Mind, thus tells the Story plainly.

This is the Novatus that first sowed the Seeds of Schism and Discord among us, that separated the Brethren from their Bishops, that in the very time of Persecution became another Persecution himself to subvert the minds of our

Idem est Novatus Epist. 53.
qui apud nos primum discordiæ &
schismatis incendium seminavit, qui
quosdam istic ex
fratribus ab Episcopo segregavit, qui
in ipsa persecutione
ad evertendas statrum mentes alia

P quæ-

quædam persecutio Brethren. It is he nostris fuit. Ipse est that made Fælicissiqui Falicissimum Sa. mus the Hettor his conum, nec permit- knowledge or perte. fua factione & and Ambition. ambitione conftituit.

tellitem fuum Dia- Deacon without my tente me nec fcien- mission, by Faction

And after this account of the Author, he lets us know the occasion of the Schisin: That beside many other scandalous Enormities committed by him,

Conscientiam criminum jampridem timebat, propter hoc se non de Presbyterio excitaritantum, sed & communicatione prohiberi pro certo tenebat; & urgentibus fratribus imminebat cognitionis dies, quo apud nos caufa

- BUID

Not long before the Uterus uxoris calce breaking out of this percussus & Abor- Persecution, he had tione properante in so wounded his Wife paricidium partus by a kick upon the expressus.--- Hanc Belly, that it caused a miscarriage. For which bruitish bebaviour be was cited to appear before his Bishop St. Cyprian ; but before they came to Judgement, the Persecution overtook them, by which means Donatus escaped his punishment at prefent, fent, and to avoid ejus ageretur, nist it for the time to persecutio antè vecome, sets asoot this nisset. Quam iste
Schism, to overthrow all the Discipline of the Christidae damnationis exstian Church: cipiens, hac omnia
commissit & mis-

cuit; ut qui ejici de Ecclesia, & excludi habebat, judicium Sacerdotum voluntatia discessione præcederet, quasi evasisse

fit pænam, prævenisse sententiam.

Such was the Author and the Occasion of this pernicious Schiss, and he now seeing the Persecution begin to cool, and St. Cyprian resolute to keep up the Essicacy of Discipline, cunningly sets up Facticissimus to be head of the Party, who, he knew, would thrust himself forward esnough into the quarrel, meerly out of his factious nature, and for the meer love of discord and contention, as St. Cyprian expresses it. That

out of a natural inflinct to disturb the quiet of his Brethren; he conspired with many others, with the rage and rashness of a mad man to declare himInstinctu suo quie- Epist. 411 tem fratrum tur-bans, proripuit se cum plurimis, ducem se Factionis & Seditionis Principem temerario su-rore contestans.

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self the head of the Pullion, and Prince

of the Seditions Affociation.

And according to this Temper of his, when St. Cyprian a while after fent his Commissioners to Carthage for the fettlement of Ecclefiaftical Discipline, this Boutefeu with his Rabble openly oppose and affront them, and threaten Excommunication to all that should obey either them or St. Cyprian. Of which St. Cyprian being informid, he immediately fends his peremptory Sentence of Excommunication against him and his accom-

Quod cum Episco- Because he attemppo portionem ple- ted to share the flock bra diffipare tenta- from their Father,

verit.

Sed & Augendus, qui nec Episcopum nec Ecclesiam cogitans, pariter se cum illius conspiratione fociavit, fit ultra cum eo persevera-

plices. Against him, bis dividere, i.e. a with his Biftop. Pastore oves, & fili- which is to divide os à Parente separa- the Sheep from the re, & Christi mem- Shepherd, Children and to disperse the Members of Christ.

And against them that Not regarding the Bishop or the Church, they had af-Sociated themselves to his Conspiracy, and therefore had brought the Same Sentence

Ibid.

Sentence of Condem- verit, fententiam himself so by his own separari. Separation.

nation upan their own ferat, quam ille in heads, that his Schife fe factiofus & temematical folly & rafb- rarius provocavit. ness had drawn down Sed & quisquis se upan bis, and for that conspirationi & fareason whoever joins | ctioni ejus adjunxed with his faction, erit, sciat se in Ecwas denounced ex- clesia nobiscum non communicate from esse communicatutheChristianChurch, rum, qui sponte as one who bad made maluit ab Ecclesia

This being done, he fignifies his Sen-Epift. 43. tence to his People, requiring them, as they would not incur the fame Sentence. not to Communicate with the Schismaticks against their Bishop, and presses them to it with this Argument a There

is one God , one Christ, one Church, one Chair founded by our Lord's faying upon Peter; another Altar, befide that one Alsar & Prieftbood cannot be ereded your

Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una fuper Petrum Domini vo+ ce fundata. Aliud Altare constituiaut facerdotium novum fieri præter unum Altare, & unum Sacerdot' non poteft

P 3

To divide from their Bishop, as Falicissimus had done, was a breach of the Unity of the Priesthood, and that was a breach of the Unity of the Church, which is here expressed by the word Altar, as it is frequently in the Ancient Writers of the Church, but especially those that writ against the Novatians and the Donatifts. All the Christians under one Bishop were said to appertain to the same Altar, because they belong'd to the same Communion; and therefore when any separated from him, they were said to erect a new Altar, because they set up a new Communion. And this Rebellion against the Bishop he farther aggravates as an utter Subversion of the Christian

Adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quodeunque humano surore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. Church; It is adulterous, it is prophane, it is facrilegious, whatever is innovated by the passions of Men, to the injury of God's own Institution.

And then passionately exhorting the People to avoid them, he thus expressionately exhorting the People to avoid them, he thus expressionately exhorting the People to avoid them, he thus expressionately exhorting the Man draw you Ghrings ab Evangelio figures from the Gospel.

Ibid.

pel of Christ, let no Christi rapiat, Ne-Man take away the mo filios Ecclefize Sons of the Church de Ecclefia tollat. from the Church. let them perish alone, who have a mind to periff, let them alone remain out of the Church, runt, foli cum Epifwho have departed copis non fint, qui from the Church, let contra Episcoposrethem alone not com- bellarunt. municate with the

Pereant fibi foli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Ecclesiam foli remaneant, qui de Ecclefia recesse.

Bishops, who have rebell'd against the Bishops.

Thus we fee how it is all along with him, one and the fame thing to be out of the Communion with the Bishop and with the Christian Church, whilst the Bishop was in Communion with that. But matters being thus prepared, and the storm of Perfecution laid, St. Cyprian in a little time returns home, and Summons a Provincial Council, in which the Caufe of Fælicissimus ( whose zeal had now made him proud of being head of the Party ) and his Factious Affociates, was Examin'd, and after a full and fair hearing, the former Sentence of Excommunication by their own Bishop was Synodically ratified. But Schism never ends where

where it begins for the Incendiaries finding themselves thus defeated in Africa, they fly to Rome, and carry the flame with them from Cartbage thither, where they found combustible matter enough at that time to fet the whole Christian World on fire, from the contest between Cornelius and Novatian for the Bishoprick; for as the Council of Carthage was held in the Month of May, so this Contest happned the June following, as the learned Annalist has made it evidently appear. Cornelius being chosen Bishop by the much greater Majority of Votes, Novatian Remonstrates to his Election, loads him with a great heap of Crimes that would render him uncapable of the Episcopal Office, but chiefly refuses Communion with him, because he had Communicated with the Laph; and upon this severe Principle, that they were never to be admitted to Absolution he builds his Schilm, at which lucky jun-Chure of time the African Schismaticks coming to Rome, they join interest with him and fet him up Anti-Bishop against Cornelius, and by the feverity of their pretence drew into the Party many wellmeaning Men, that had been eminent Confessors in the late Decian Persecution. and by their Reputation for fome time kept

kept up the Schism with some credit and confidence. But here the honesty of Schismaticks is not a little observable. in that though their Opinions were extreme, yet they join in the same Schisin against the Catholique Church. For Novatus and his Party were so loose as to be for Absolution without any due course of Penance and Satisfaction: But Novatian was so severe as to be against allowing any Absolution at all; and yet in this distance from one another they both piec't together against the Catholique Church, that taught and practifed the middle way of Absolution upon Penance and Satisfaction. But the Opinion of Novatian being the most plausible ( for that of Novatus was a meer inlet to all Debauchery ) it foon fwallowed up the African Schismatiques into it for Novatus having by his Schism escaped with all his Crimes the Discipline of the Church, he cared not what became of his Opinion, Schism was his only business, and therefore he would quit his Opinion or any thing else, to strengthen himself by a stronger Faction. And the Faction being now emboldned by their strength and number, they fignific the Ele-Ction of Novatian to the feveral Provincial Churches, and among others to St. Cyprian.

Cyprian. But he and his Collegues then affembled in Synod, having been beforehand certified of the Canonical Election of Cornelius by Synodical Letters, like Men wife and flout, are fo moved with the irregularity of the action, that they would not fo much as give them Audience, but immediately throw them out

Frift. 44. Sed enim cum ex literis quas fecum ferebant, & ex eo-

rum Sermone atq; vatianum Episcopum factum comperissemus, illicitæ & contra Ecclesiam Catholicam factæ Ordinationis pravitate commoti, à

of all Communion. When by their Letters and their Difcourse, we underflood that Novatian affeveratione, No- was made Bishop, being provoked by Such an irregularity of an Ordination made against the Catholick Church, we immediately forbid them our Communion.

Comműicatione eos nostra statim cohibendos esse censuimus.

And when they prest that the Cause of Novatian and accusations against Corwelius might be publickly heard, the Coun-

Gravitati nostræ negavimus convenire, We judged it unbeut Collegæ nostri coming our Gravity jam delecti & ordi- that we should suffer

cil peremptorily rejected the motion.

thin.

the bonour of our nati, & laudabili Collegue already chomultorum fententia fen, and ordain d, and comprobati ventiapproved by common landum ultra honofuffrage to be farther rem maledica approfecuted by envimulantium voce paous and spiteful men, teremur.

And this he discourses with great wif- Epist. 45. dom in his next Epistle, Honoris enim communis memores,&c. For being mindful of our common reputation, and bearing special regard to the bonour and dignity of the Priesthood, we refused to hear their Accufations sharpened with bitter Reproaches, confidering and weighing with our serves, that in so great an Assembly of the Brethren, in the presence of the Priests of God, and before the very Altar, they were neither fit to be read not to be beard. Neither are things to be rashly and easily made publick, that may cause scandal int he Hearers, and raise an ill Opinion of their Brethren, who live at a great distance off, too great to clear their own innocence, And now having rejected the Schismaticks with fo much contempt and dishonour, St. Cyprian writes to the Confessors, who had given reputation to the Schism and Scandal to the Church, and very feverely

Epiff. 56. werely schools them for their disorderly & Seditious behaviour. Gravat enim me ato: contriftat, &c. It grieves and troubles mest pierces my very heart with unspeakable forrow, when I found that you, even you ogainst all Eccle hastical Constitution , against the Law of the Gospel, against the White of the Catholick Church had confented to the Creation of another Bilbop, I.e. to erect another Church, to tear afunder the Members of Christ, to divide the very Souland Body of the Lords Flock, And fo goes on pathetically to exhort them, that as they would not lose the honour and reward of their past fufferings, that they would freedity return thto the Unity of the Church, and out of that it was in vain for them for much as to pretend the Confession of Christianity. And for their more ample fatisfaction fends them his Book, de unitate Ecclefie. Where among many other effectual Arguments, he represents to them that their Schiffe is a much more heinous Crime then that committed by the Laple and that they had offended God less if they had fallen in Perfecution, then standing in it to fall into Schifm, which he tells them is a Crime not to be expiated by Martyrdom it felf. Though they were Rain

flain for the Confession Tales epiam froce! on of bis Name, yet fi in confessione notheir Sin is a blemish minis fuerint macunot to be washer off la ista nec languine by their own blood. abluitur. Inexpia-The fin of Discord is bilis & gravis culpa heavy and expiable, discordize, nec passinot to be purged a- one purgatur. Esse way by Martyrdom Martyr non potest, it felf. Neither can qui in Ecclesia non he be a Martyr that est. is out of the Church.

The Martyrs being alarm'd with these and the like discourses, ( for they received another Letterabout the fame bufiness. and much about the fame time from that Wife and Great Man Dyonifius Bilhop of Alexandria) are awakened to enquire more narrowly into the matter, upon Epift. 49. which they find that Letters full of Calumnies and Reproaches, of which they were utterly ignorant, had been featter'd and difperfed in all Churches in their name, and confess that they had been circumvented by ill men, beg forgiveness, and acknowledge their great miscarriage in the publique Congregation, and fubmit to Cornelius as their true and only Bishop. And that immediately broke the Schifm and featter'd the Schifmaticks. ile of Nevation. Et .siHugh to an

sign at the sales another for

si. Hic enim quosdam fratrès nostros, &c. For this was the thing (fays St. Cyprian) that feduced some with us, that they followed the Communion of Confessors, which ftrong prejudice being removed they are able to fee the Light, and understand that the Peace and Unity of the Church ought not to be broke and divided, neither will they be so easily perverted by every furious Schismatick for the time to come, when they are now convinced by experience that these brave Soldiers of Christ, could not long by all the Arts of Craft and Subtilty be kept out of the Church. But if the Reader defire a more compendious Account of all the Scenes and Motions of this Controversy, he may meet with it in St. Cyprian's admirable Epistle to Antenianus a Numidian Bishop, who not throughly understanding the state of the Resolutions concerning the Laph, nor the contest between Cornelius and Novatian, writes to St. Cyprian for better information about them both. Who returns him a full Answer to both, but more especially to the whole Tragedy of the Contest between Cornelius and Novatian. wherein he proves that Cornelius was lawfully Elected and Confecrated before Novatians and therefore that that alone was enough to null the Title of Novatian. Et etim

cum post primum, &c. And feeing when there is one Bishop there cannot be another, whoever pretends to be Jecond after a first, who ought to be alone, is not the fecond but none at all. And though he gives a large Account of Cornelius his Vertues, and the Vices of Novatian, yet the Principle that he relyes upon is the Priority of Cornelius his legal Ordination, after which for any other man to thrust himself upon what pretence soever into the same Bishoprick, is really to thrust himself both out of the particular Church that he invades, and out of the Catholick Church against which he Rebels, because by the Rules of both, one Church is not capable of receiving two Bishops. But the Martyrs being reduced, and the Schismaticks scatter'd and every where rejected, St. Cyprian fets himself to bring the War to a Final Issue, and for that end fummons a Council at Carthage to fettle the Case of the Lapsi forever, whereas he informs Antonianus it was after mature debate determin'd with true Ecclefiastical Moderation. Scripturis diu ex utrâque parte prolatis, &c. The Scriptures being alledged and urged on either fide, we temper'd and pois'd the matter with an healing moderation, that neither the hope of Restitution should be wholly denyed

nyed the Lapli, left despair should drive them into utter Apostacy; nor that the censure of the Church should be so loofned that the Offenders should be lightly admitted to Communion, but that upon due Penance and Humiliation, every mans particular cause and circumstances being examin'd, he should be accordingly treated. Which Decree being certified by a Synodical Epistle to Rome, Cornelius at the Petition of St. Cyprian, as Labbe according to the manner of the Romanists expresses it, allows his Confirmation. And for the proof of it alledges St. Cyprian's words to Antonianus, in which he declares Cornelius his Compliance with the Authority of his determination fo that instead of giving force to his Authority he on-

Ac si minus sufficiens Episcoporum
Numerus in Africa
videbatur, etiam Romam super hac re
scripsimus ad Cornelium Collegam
nostrum, qui et ipse
cum plurimis Coepiscopis habitoConcilio, in eandem nobiscum sententiam,

ly followed it, And as if the number of Bishops in Africa were not sufficient, we writ to Cornelius our Collegue at Rome, who calling a Council of a great many Bishops approved our Judgment with equal Wisdom and wholsome moderation.

pari gravitate et salubri moderatione confensit. The

The Schismatiques being thus utterly routed at Rome, they fly back into Africk, and there affociate to let up another Bithop against Sr. Cyprian, and agree upon Fortunatus, which being done Fælicifimus with aGuard of rude and desperate Fellows posts to Rome, fignifies the Election of their new Bishop to Cornelius, and demands Communion with him but is rejected with all manner of fcorn and difgrace. "Opon this they huff and domineer, and fcare the old Bilhop with their lowd threatmings and lowder Lyes, particularly that this business was transacted by the concurrent Vote of five and twenty Billiops; this puts Cornelius to a fland, and hearing nothing all this while of it from St. Cyprian, writes to him to know the whole flate of the matter, who returns him a large and pathetical Narrative of it, where he states the whole matter with that spift, so. clearness and strength of reason, with that evidence of proof, with that fulnels of Teftimony, that vanquisht the Faction forever, for after that time we hear very little of this fullen Schifm. And the Fundamental Principle upon which he infifts is the Divine Institution of his own Episcopal Superiority. Herefies and Schisms arise

from no other Foun- Neque enim aliunde

Hærefes

Hæreses obortæ funt aut nata funt Schismata quam inde quòd Sacerdoti dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus facerdos, et ad tempus Judex vice Christi cogitatur, cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraterni tas Universa, nemo adverfum facerdotű collegium quidqua moveret, nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepisco, porum consensum. Judicem se jam non Episcopi sed dei faceret.

tain, then because the Priest of God is not obeyed, nor one Priest at a time is thought to prefide in the Church as Christ's Vicegerent. To whom if the whole Brotherbood would obey according to the divine commands, no man would move Sedition against the Colledge of Priests, no man after the Sentence of God, the good liking of the People, the consent of the Bishops , would take upon him to judge not the Bi Shop but God him felf.

That was his case that when he had been Canonically Elected and Constituted in the See of Carthage, his own Presbyters should presume to out him of his Bishoprick that he held for his life by Davine Authority,

And

And therefore to Travel ho farther into this Controversie, though the Schifmatiques, according to the restless Genius of such Men, made some faint sallys to save and redeem themselves, we plainly see that this was the first Article of St. Cyprian's Unity of the Christian Church, the Unity of a Bishop in every Diocesan Church, and the dutiful and regular Communion of all its Members with him.

§ 13. The fecond grand Article, and that which has a more diffusive influence upon the Peace and Unity of the Church, is the obligation upon all Christian Bishops, to preserve Concord and Communion among themselves. And as the former unites every Christian to some particular Church; so this unites every particular Church to the Body of the Church Catholique. And this is that which St. Cyprian and the Ancients intend by the Catholick Church, viz. All Churches in the World united into one Body by the Concord of Bishops in the same Rules of Discipline and Government. And this is his meaning in those several Passages, in which he makes every Church both a perfect Church within it felf, and yet Q 2

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only a Member of the Church Catholique, as in the formercion'd Pallage in his Book De Unitate: Episcopatus anus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenes tur: There is but one Episcopacy, of which every Bishop to seffes bis own there with plenitude of Power. And in his 96 Epifile, A Christo una Ecclesta per tarumier bem in multa membra divifa; Christina founded one Church, difpers'd whrough the whole World in many Districts and down fions. And in the fame Epiftle, Epifcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordi numer shtate diffusus, There is but one Episcopacy Spread every where by the Concord of all Biftops. And in the 68th Epistle, Etfi Pastores multi fumus, whum tamen gregem pascimus, & wives univensas quas Christius Sanguine San & passione quel hvit, colligere & fovere debemus & Though we are many Paffors, yet we feed bakone Flock, and we are allibound to fold und cheriff all the Sheep that Chrift has purchased with his Blood and Passion. By which, and the like paffages, which are very frequent in his Writings, nothing less can be understood than the Obligation of all particular Churches to michual Concord, for the prefervation of Peter and Unity in the Church Catholique. And agreeable to this Doctrine was his

practice through the whole course of his Government, to give an account of his proceedings to Foreign Churches for their Judgment and Approbation; and by that means a stricter Unity of Difcipline was at that time kept up in all Christian Churches then in any other Age. Thus when he had cast Fælicifimus and his Affociates out of the Church of Carthage, they could never after it get footing in any other Church: And When Cornelius flad cast Novatian out of the Church of Rome, though he made many bold and Plaufible Attempts to infinuate himself into divers other Churches yet he could never meet with entertainment in any, but found himself doom'd to the fare of Cain, to be a Va-gabond all the days of his Life. This Correspondence of Discipline is the subject of the greatest part of St. Cyprian's Epiffles. Thus he wrote to the Church of Rome, to give an account of his Difcipline and Diligence, Necessarium duxi Bas ad vos titeras facere, quibus vobis Epist. 23. atths nostri, & Disciplina & Diligentia ratio redderetur. And then gives a particular Account of all his Proceedings in the Case of the Laph, and the illegal Pardons of the Martyrs and Confessours; Lest (lays he) our

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consentire circa om- and agreeable in all discreparet.

Ne actus noster, qui our Resolutions that adunatus esse & ought to be uniform nia debet, in aliquo things should be dif-Sonant in any.

The very same that is done in his Epift. 25.] Epistle to Caldonius, in which he tells him, That he had fent the fame Account to divers other Churches, and defires him to conveigh it to as many Bishops or Collegues as he could, That the Same Resolution and Agreement in all things might according to our Lords Command be preserved in all Churches : Ut apud omnes unus Actus, & una confenho secundum Domini præcepta teneatur. And again in his Epiftle to the Clergy of Rome, he informs them of the diforderly Proceedings of Lucianus, and other Confessors, in giving Absolution without his consent, and desires their farther asfistance, assuring them, That their former concurrence with him, had supported him against that old dead weight of Envy, and faved him a World of Trouble : Laborantes bic nos, & contra invidiæ impetum, totis fidei viribus refistentes multum sermo vester adjuvit, ut divinitus compendium fieret. And when in another Epistle to them he had cau-

tion d

tion'd them against Privatus an Heretical Bishop, they return him thanks for his great care of the Unity of the Chriftian Church, a duty (fay they) equally incumbent upon us all, Omnes enim Epift. 36. nos decit pro corpore totius Ecclefia, cujus per varias quasque Provincias membra digesta funt, excubare. And so when the African Bishops had agreed to make an abatement of the rigour of Discipline Epis. 17: toward the Laph upon the forelight of a new approaching Perfecution, they acquaint the Church of Rome with their Resolution by a Synodical Epistle. But the most eminent correspondence at this time, and about this business, was that between Cornelius Bishop of Rome, Dionyfius of Alexandria, Fabian of Antioch, and Cyprian of Carthage, by whose Con-Epist. 58. cord and Conduct the fury both of the Schism and Schismatiques was at last utterly vanquish't. And it was this breach of the Unity among Christian Bishops, that was the great Aggravation and Enormity of the Sin of Novatian, as it is represented by St. Cyprian in his excellent Epistle to Antonianus; Cum fit à Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum, &c. When there is but one Church in the whole World divided into many Parts, and one Episcopacy diffused all over by the

the numerous Concord of many Bisheps, this Man Slighting the Command of God, and the setled Unity of the Catholique Church, endeavours to erect an bumane Church, Sends bis new Apofiles through divers Cities, to lay the Roundations of a new Institution. And whereas there had been of a long time Bishops wenerable for Age, Orthodox in Faith, proved in Tryals, proferibed in Persecutions, Ordain'd in all Provinces and every City, yet be dares presume to fet up over them his own False-Bishops, as if he resolved to vanquish the whole World meerly by his stubbornness, and by the propagation of Discard to tear in pieces the moole Union of the Ecclehastical Body. That was a plain dissolution of the Unity of the Can tholique Church, the dividing the Body of Christian Bishops, in whose Concord and Agreement the true Catholique Unity confilted. But the most remarkable; Discourse in all St. Cyprian's Writings upon this Argument is his severe Epistle to Florentius or Pupianus an African Bithop, who took upon himfelf to difelain Communion with St. Cyprian by his own fingle Authority, norwithstanding that St. Cyprian was in the Communion of the Catholique Church, [ Ecclesta universa per totum mundum nobiscum Unitatis vinculo 3013

Epift. 66.

((2833) vincula repulatard in Quando Erclefia And therefore when in que Catholica una the out Gatholique efficiffa non fit neg Church campa he divifa, fed fit utigs rent mer divided, connexa, & pohe but is united and rentium fibi invicombin'd togethen by cem lacerdonum the Coment fof the gluting copulata. Epifapal Concordo dodon He charges Pupianus with casting himfelf out of the Communion of the Catholique Church, by denying to Communicate with Sto Gyprians With whom all other Bishops communicated And withal tells him That his firme is for great, that ohe read frare be reflored as upon an Repontances and Satisfaction, and that for this own part he dates not do its without forme express Commission from God himself of Libate of the Church, his Almin's cosinhall good Gid subhether win Ut prius Dominum

hubb be restored o meum confulam an [efter having mades tibi pacera dari, & stisfaction Januari te ad Communicathat he will be pleas intionem Exclesia sua sed to let me know admitti sua Ostenby fome fign and in .... Sione & Admonititimation of his Will, one permittat. le & meta.

whether he will en

ver permit fuch an one as you to be received

ceived into the Communion of his Church. And this is the thing that St. Cyprian means by a Bishops making himself Epifcopus Episcopi, with which he here particularly charges Pupianus, when one Bithop prefumes by his fingle Authority to judge another. Which was in those days justly esteem'd the most unpardonable breach of Catholique Communion. For upon that pretence, he might if he pleased, disclaim and condemn every Bithop of the Christian World. And therefore though any other Offender that flood Excommunicate even by a Council of Billiops might be admitted to the peace of the Church upon fatisfaction; yet in this case St. Cyprian doubts when ther Pupianus his Repentance will be ever accepted. Infomuch that if upon it he should be received into the Communion of the Church, his Absolution must not be peremptory as in other cases, but so as still to refer him to the fear and danger of the Judgment of God. Si temeritatis & faperbiæ & insolentiæ tuæ agere vel sero panitentiam caperis, fi Deo & Christo ojus plenissime satisfeceris, communicationis tua poterimus babere rationem manente tamen apud nos divinæ censuræ respectu & metu. This was a fingular Severity in fo gentle a Person as St. Cy prian,

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primy who allowed full Restitution to all other Offenders, but in this case the does it with an If. And in plain truth the Nature of the Crime deserved it, for it is an Eternal Subversion of the Peace of the whole Church, if the Pride or the Peevilhness of one single Man may be fuffer'd to cenfure and condemn the pradice of the whole Catholique Church. for though this pique of Pupianus lay only against St. Cyprian, yet he being (as he tells him ) in Communion with all the Bishops and Churches through the whole World, though the blow were aim'd at him fingly, it lighted upon all and the whole Church was equally involved in the Cenfure. Which was then thought such a piece of Luciferian pride, that it was by him placed next to the unpardonable Sin. The pallages in St. Cyprian to this purpose are innumerable and there is scarce an Epiftle, in which he does not expresly declare the Unity of the Catholique Church to lye in the Concord and Agreement of the Episcopal Colledge; that was a Succession to the Apostolical, between whom the Government of the Church was equally divided, yet so as to agree all together in one Catholique Communion. This is a thing so easily to be understood that I cannot

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dangot but fland amazed to find Wien of Serife, Learning, and Ingenuity Pretend mbe to dull as not to be able to comprehend, how the Unity of the Church thould be reduced to practice by way of external Policy, when all the Lines of it are to plainly graced out if the Unit verfat practice of the Primitive Church. and particularly in the Writings of St. Cyprian It were rafie to give a mich larger account of it by transcribing af thoft attrette Records of the Christian Church; the chief Affairs whereof were all along transacted by this way of Epi-Aslary Correspondence And therefore the belleway of attaining knowledge in Exclosionical matters is not by following for and form d Histories, to much as by wonfulting particular Epiffles in which We have a distinct account from time to sine, of the true Springs and Motions d all the publique Transactions of the Chirl de does not exprefly declaribring rain of the Catholique Church to lye in the ingophyd But beenue this Argament of Unity and Communion, by way of caternit Polity in the Church is Become? Controverse among some learned Men of our own Church, though what I have already discoursed in general be more ther enough, or at least as much as is in

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it fell needful to flute the Oafe, over and les Totaffoil forme particular Avguments that are at this time on foot, notwith fanding all that I have faid, I shall leave fome Readers under the power of great prejudices, and those prejudices being maintain'd by the deferved Reputation of fome good and learned Men, they are not to be easily removed, not otherwise. then by particular Confutations. The Controversie are Mr. Thorndike, and Dr. Barrow, Men of equal value both for Modefty, Learning, and Piery. Mr. Thorndike is peremptory for the necessity of one United Government in the Catholique Church. The Dr. granting it to be a thing very defirable, and in fome rare cases practicable, as when all Christendom was almost confin'd within the Roman Empire, cannot conceive any Necessity of it, or Obligation to it. A But withall due Reverence to the memory of fo great, and to good a Man, I must make bold to fay, That, however it comes to pass, he answers neither his afual Acuteness or Ingenuity in this performance. Probably it might have been an imperfect work, and an Effay upon the Argument by way of exercise to himfelf or if he were ferious, and the discourse

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discourse were the result of his own Judgment, it will appear when I come to confider his way of discoursing it, that he had by no means weighed the matter as he ought, that he did not comprehend the Arguments that he undertook to anfwer, that he was not confistent with himself, but expresly afferts the Opinion that he endeavours to oppose. Of all which unufual inconfiftency in fo Acute 2 Man I can give no other Reason, then that his great Zeal against the Unity of the Catholique Church by way of Papal Monarchy Transported him to far as to make him forget that obligation to Unity and Communion that lyes upon all Churches under their feveral distinct Governments. But whatever was the ground of his mistake, his reasons only concern us, and here to proceed Methodically, I shall in the first place set down his Adversaries Arguments, and his Replies upon them; and then his own Arguments, with my Answers to them And first he begins the dispute with an intimation of the want of perspicuity in his Adversaries Writings, and this I know is a popular Objection, and very much in the mouths of fome Men, who will by no means allow him to be an intelligible Writer, though for what reafon u courfe

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fon I cannot imagine, unless that it is convenient for themselves that he should not be understood; for if once Men were convinced of the true Constitution of any one Church by Divine Authority, that would forever destroy all indifferency, or pretended moderation, between the feveral different Parties among us. And if the Church of England be conftituted by Divine Right, then all that feparate from it are both Heretiques and Schismatiques; and all that join with it as the right Church, and not meerly as the Church in possession, are obliged to declare them fo, and endeavour to have them cast out of all Ecclesiastical Communion. If indeed the difference were only about Rites and Ceremonics, there might be fome room for good nature; but when the contest is about the Essential Constitution of a Christian Church. as it was Established by our Saviour and his Apostles, those that separate from it, nay that endeavour with all their might to destroy it, ( as our present Schismatiques do ) cannot but incur the utmost displeasure and severity of all honest Men that fincerely love it: In fuch cases as these, it is a contradiction to talk of terms of Accommodation: And that is the reason why some Men that would

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would keep fair with all Parties, are to afraid of the Plea of Divine Right for the Church of Dogland for of that be letted. they are thereby obliged and determin'd politively to declare against the Schiffin of all other different Parties. And not to do it is to partake of their Sin, old in effect to join with them in it for not to be for the true Church is to be against it, our Savious will accept of no fisch Hukewarin and perfidious moderation. In fliertu Men that Communicate with the Church of England not as founded upon Divine Right, proceed upon no other ground then that it is the Church at preferit in Possession, so that whatever Party has the luck to get uppermost, that is the Church of England; and then be it Popery, Presbytery, or Independendy we are Schiffmatiques if we feparate from it : For if there be no Ecclefiaftical form of Government fettled by Divine haw, then none of thele can be in themselves unlawful, because nothing can be forbut as it is against the Law of God, for where there is no Law there is no Sin, and therefore it is but a very mean piece of Service to the Church of England, to affert the Lawfulness of her Constitution; for if that be all, and if it be not necessary too as establishe by Divine

Divine Right, fo are all other forms, then all the difference is, that the State has thought good to annex the Ecclesiastical breferments to this way; but fetting them aside, the Separatists are as much the Church of England as our felves, and if the State should be pleased to settle all the Emoluments of the Church upon Presbytery or Independency, yes or Popery it felf, then all that is pleaded for the Lawfulness of the present Church of England, will be as pleadable against it for the Church Triumphant. So fatal and pernicious to the Being of a Christian Church is this Principle that takes away all Divine Right, it blows up the very Foundations of the Church, that can fland upon no other bottom then the Authority of God, and lets Men loofe from all other Obligations to Communicate with any Church, then meerly those of courtese and civility; for the only reason it can lay upon them, is to Communicate with the Church they live in, is to do it for convenience and peace fake, rather then to be troublefom, otherwise they are lest by the Law of God to be of what Church they please, or if they please of none at all; for if there be none by Divine Law, they cannot be obliged to Communicate with any. But of the ill Consequences of this

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this fatal Principle, I shall give a particular account in the Conclusion of this Design; when after I have made good the true State of the Church, I shall be able to convince all the different Parties of their Deviations from it, and amongst the rest I doubt this Sect of Men will be found the most guilty of any, of perfidiousness against the Catholique Church, for they disown any such thing in all times and places; and that is an offence of a more heinous Nature. as well as larger Extent, then when committed only against the particular Church of England. Though the greatest aggravation of it is, That it is taken up precariously without ground or thadow of Reason, in defiance to all the Records of the Christian Church, and that all its Pleas pervert them with more folly and groffness, then the Romanists pretences for Papal Supremacy, as will be shewn in due place. In the mean time to return to our Learned Author, and his complaint of Mr. Thorndike's obscurity, that was taken up by him from a vulgar Opinion, and that was first started by others, chiefly to prevent the force of his Arguments for the Divine Right of Ecclesiastical Power. It must be granted, that there are some things in his Epilogue to the Church of England

England, that cannot but create forme difficulty to the less skilful Reader: As first, the very careless and uncorrected Impression of it, whereby such a multitude of faults have escaped, or rather pasfed through the Press, as cannot but very much disturb and perplex the Sense, especially when the mistake is committed ( as it very frequently is ) in the Particles of Argumentation, whereby the plain coherence of the discourse is often loft and inverted; both which being added to the obscurity of the stile it self. which though it is intelligible enough to an attending Reader, yet must be acknowledged fomewhat dark and involved, as usually happens to overthoughtful Men, and that feems to have been the case of this Learned Man, his former Writings upon the very fame Subject being much more plain and perfpicuous. But the thing that most of all puts the ordinary Reader to a lofs, is his frequent and large digressions, for being a complear Master of Ecclesiastical Learning, he could not confine himfelf to his proper Argument, but upon every turn runs out into other Subjects. And the method of the connexion not appearing, the common Reader loses the delign of the whole. To give an instance or two, his chief Arguments for the Uni-

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ty of the Catholick Church being taken from the Unity of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; beside making out his Conclusion, he enters into large Discourses concerning the Use and Necessity of Baptism against the Sociaians, and the presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, and the Sence of the Church about it in all Ages against the Church of Rome, and by that time the less diligent Reader has travell'd through these long Digressive Controverses, he forgets the first Conclusion, of the Unity of the Church from the Unity of right to these two Sacraments in it.

- But if the Reader would diftinguish between the direct Course and Tenor of the Discourse it self, and these occasional Salleys, the whole Method of proceeding would appear plain and perspicuous enough to an ordinary understanding. And for the proof of this I shall only refer him to his first Book upon this Argument, which was the fubstance and groundwork of his other larger Treatifes. And that is his discourse of the Right of the Churches in a Christian state. In which keeping close to his Argument, he has flated this and all other matters that he treats of with that clearness and coherence of Reason, that whoever will be at the pains to run through that little Book

can never complain of any Obscurity in his following Writings. Thus in his first Chapter, he lays the Foundations of the one Catholick Church upon the right of holding publick Assemblies for the Worthip of God by Divine Authority, upon which he infers the power of the Keys. and from thence the power of granting Baptifm, which suppose a fettled Authority of taking into or casting out of the Society of the Church, and unless those that are taken in are taken into the whole Society, and those that are cast out are cast out of the same, they are of no effect to the purpose to which they are defign'd. For unless a Man that is baptised in a particular Church have a right of Communicating with the whole Christian Church, if he change his Habitation, he must leave his Christianity behind him, or his right of holding publick Affemblies in the Church. And unless a wan that is Excommunicate in a particular Church, be thereby cast out of Communion with all other Churches, it is but changing his Habitation, and he that was cut off as a corrupt Member from the Body of Christ, shall elude the just Sentence of the Church, and not withstanding his Excommunication have as full a right to all Christian Priviledges as if he had never been proceeded against. This R 2

This is the main Ares of his Argument upon this Subject, which he farther shews by the power of inflicting and abating Pennance, that is connected with the Authority of Excommunication or inflicting Centures. And the force of this Argumentation is fo evident and unavoidable, that I must confess my felf not a little surprised how it was possible that our Learned Adversary could any way baulk or shift the Evidence of its Conviction. Especially when himself saw so clearly that an Ecclesiastical Unity of Government in the Church is absolutely necessary to its pre fervation; for though he founds it only upon the Confederation and confent of Churches and not any divine Command, yet he founds that Confent upon its necef fity to the Peace of the Church. 'This course (fays he) was very prudential and useful for preserving the truth of Religion and Unity of Faith, against Heretical Devices springing up in that free age, for maintaining Concord and good Correspondence among Christians, together with an Harmony in Manners and Discipline, for that otherwise Chriflendom would have been flatter'd and crumbled into numberless Parties, difcordant in Opinion and Practice, and confequently alienated in affection, which

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which inevitably among most men doth 'follow difference of Opinion and Man-'ners, fo that in short time it would not have appeared what Christianity was, and confequently the Religion, being overgrown with differences and discords, 'must have perished. Now is not this a very fair concession for one who is labouring only to prove that this Unity of Government among feveral Churches is not necessary to the Church, when without it Christianity must have certainly perish't. But this dropt from his own natural sense and ingenuity, that could not but acknowledge the Evidence of fo clear a truth. But though it was an utter subversion of his whole design, yet it feems he was so intent in the pursuit of the Argument, that he had undertaken, that he overlook't even his own thoughts when they stood in his way. And now after this it is so easie to overthrow every particular part of his discourse, that were it not for his Authority, it would be needless. But because by reason of that it must be done, I shall do it with all possible brevity. First then, the name of Church is attributed to the whole body of Christia- Arg. 1. ans, which implyeth Unity. And this he confesses it does, but determines not the kind or ground thereof, there being feveral kinds, any whereof may fuffice to ground

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ground that comprehensive Appellation. But this by his own Confession is most apparently false, for it determines it self to that kind that confifts in an Unity of Government, and the ground of that determination of it is its necessity to the Peace and Welfare of the Church, and therefore without this kind of Unity, no other fort will suffice to ground the Appellation, because without it there can be no other Unity, this is necessary to all other forts, and therefore without it they are not capable of that name. But to deal plainly, the Argument is not here fairly represented, for Mr. Thorndika does not argue merely from the name of the Church, but from the nature of the thing to which the name is applied, the Church being a Society or Body Politick, which is the first thing to be either proved or supposed in this dispute, and that being made out, then upon that suppofition the Argument is very clear, that one Church is one Society. And therefore when the name Church is frequently given in Scripture, not only to particular Churches, but to the whole Catholique Church, that must be one Society united under one Government, for without Government there is no Society, and therefore one Society founds one Government. Now the Argument being thus laid,

laid, its force lyes in the nature of things, not an empty name, and it makes its own way by its own reasonableness. Especially when we consider the Bond of this Society, viz. The Communion in Divine Offices, to which every Member of the Catholick Church having a right, the right of all must consist in that one Communion, and that one Communion cannot subsist without one Government, so perspicuously does the Unity of the Catholick Church infer and inforce an Uni-

ty of Government in it.

The next Argument and Answer are to the same purpose, viz. from our Belief of the Holy Catholique Church, from whence Mr. Thorndike infers its Political Unity but our Author: fays, it may as well be understood of any other kind of Unity. But to that it is easily answered, that as long as it is a Society (and so must all multitudes of men, if they are not riots) it cannot be underflood without this Unity. And therefore it is not precariously assumed and obtruded as is pretended, but warrants it felf by the reason it brings along with it, that determines it to this special kind of Unity. But he adds, the genuine fense of the meaning of this Article may be, our profession to adhere to the Body of Christians, and to maintain Cha-

rity and communicate in holy Offices with them, and to be willing to observe the Laws and Orders Establish't by the Authority or confent of Churches. This is very true, and very falfe, for if we are under no Obligation to all this, then all this meaning is Non-fence, and all these kinds of Unity are nothing; for if we make this professi on of our own free choice and accord, then we may choose whether we will do all this or no, and it is all one whether we adhere to the body of Christians, in Charity, Communion, and Obedience to the Laws of the Church, or whether we refuse it: for if it be no duty by vertue of Obligation, then it may be left undone as well as done. But if all Christians and all Churches are obliged to it, then indeed, 'tis true but then are they United under one Common Government, and the making and keeping of this Profession is not voluntary, but it is bound upon them by the indispensable Laws of Christianity.

3. The Apostles delivered one Rule of faith to all Churches, the embracing of which, was a necessary condition to admission into the Church, therefore Christians are combined together in one politi-

cal Body. But it is answered;

First, That from hence can only be infer'd, That Christians should consent in one Faith.

Yes,

Yes, but an obligation to confent in one Faith makes them one Political Body, for what if any Church forfake this Rule, are they not punishable for it by other Churches? If they are, they are then combined together in one Political Body: If they are not, then there is no remedy against Schiffins and Herefies; and beside that, there may be as many different Faiths as Churches, and therefore if all Christians are obliged to an Unity of Faith, and if they cannot be so without an Unity of Government, then the consequence is very strong from the Unity of one to infer the Unity of the other.

But Secondly, By this reason all mankind must be United in one Political Body, because they are all bound to observe the same Lawes of Justice and Humanity.

To make short of it, so they are; all Kingdoms and Common-wealths are as much bound to mutual Justice, as private Persons under one and the same Government. And if any Prince violate this Law by Invading his Neighbours Rights, he is or ought to be looked upon, by Gods natural Law, that equally provides for the good of all, as an Enemy and Traytor to the Society of Mankind, and it is the duty as well as interest of all other Princes not only to oppose his attempts, but to the utmost of their power

to proceed against him as an Enemy to Humane Society, and endeavour his Extirpation out of it. This upon the supposition of that one Law of Nature. that provides for the wellfare and happiness of all mankind, is an unavoidable consequence, & so is it upon supposition of Unity offaith, that all that are bound to it. must be under one common Government. But because the World is ill-Govern'd, it is an unhappy way of arguing to make that a Precedent, that the Church should be fo too. Arg. 4 God has granted to the Church certain Powers. as the Power of the Keys, a Power to Enact Laws. a power to Excommunicate, a Power to hold Assemblies, and a power to ordain Governours. But to all this it is answered, that these Powers are granted to particular Churches, not to the whole as distinct from the parts. They are granted to both, to every particular Church over its own Members, and to the whole Church over every particular Church, and whether as such it be distinct from all its parts, is a dispute too Metaphysical for me to undertake; but as confifting of them all, it has a Power over every one, and if there were no fuch Power common to all, it were in vain to grant any of these powers to each particular Church, because without that these would be utterly defeated

feated of their Force and Efficacy; for example, supposing a power in a particular Church to punish an Offender by Excommunication, unless the force of that Excommunication reach to other Churches. it loses its effect, for notwithstanding that, he has a Right to Church-Membership in all the Churches through the whole World beside. And then he is as much cast out of the Church as any man would be out of England, that is driven from any one Village. So that from the right of exercifing Discipline in each particular Church, the consequence is unavoidable. to infer the same common power in the Church Catholick. And that by our Authors leave was St. Cyprian's Inference. Not merely from these common Grants to infer this right in particular Churches, but to infer the same power in every part over it felf, and in the whole over every part. And St. Cyprian is so perpetually beating upon this Argument, that I cannot enough wonder how it is possible that this learned Man should here so foully mistake him, as if he had confined the exercise of all Ecclesiastical Discipline to each particular Church. But the falsehood of it I have fufficiently shewed above. And beside what I have already alledged, there is one pregnant passage in his Epistle to Steven Bishop of Rome, against

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against Marcian Bishop of Artes to this purpose. Idcirco, frater charistime, copios sum corpus est sacerdotum concordie mutue glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut fi quis ex collegio nostro bærefin facere, & gregem Christi lacerare & vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, & quafi pastores utiles & misericordes, oves dominicas in 'Therefore, most dear gregem colligant. Brother, is the body of the Priefthood fo large combin'd together by the cement of concord and bond of Unity, that if any of our Colledges shall attempt to raife Herefies and Schisms, the rest ought to come in, and as watchful and tender Pastors reduce the Lords Sheep to his Flock. Every Bishop was to watch over his own Flock, but the whole Body or Colledge of Bishops over every Bishop, and therefore the power lodged in them all, was but one common power feated in the Catholick Church, fo far was St. Cyprian from dreaming of the confinement of its exercise to particular Churches. As for the following Arguments and Answers, they are to the same purpose with these I have already examined, and are for the most part repetitions of the fame, and run into the same principles, that all Unity is nothing but either Unity of Faith, or voluntary Agreement, both which are already fo

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fo often proved to be no Unity without an Unity of Government, that to avoid being tedious I shall say no more but proceed to examine our Learned Author's own Arguments, and in them he is more unhappy then in his Answers, for they are so many very good Arguments against himself.

First then, This being of so great weight would have been declared in Holy Scripture.

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And fo it is, and nothing more fo to any man of common fense. I will challenge all the World to shew me any one thing more earnestly enjoyn'd and frequently recommended then the prefervation of Unity among Christians, and then if without an Unity of Government, no other could be possibly preserv'd, as our Author has proved from common fense and common experience, that must be the thing principally commanded by all those injunctions. But such arguings as these suppose all men very great Blockheads, as if they were not able to underfland any thing unless it were beaten into them, whereas the Scripture supposes Mankind endued with common fenfe, that can apply general Laws to particular cases, without being guided, like Beasts,

every step they take. And thus our Saviour having instituted the Society of his Church, and established Governors in it, when he enjoins them to be careful to preserve Unity, no Man can be so dull as not to understand, that he thereby requires them to make use of all means of obtaining it, but especially fuch as are necessary to its preservation in all Societies. And therefore whether this Unity of Government be injoin'd in express words in Scripture, I will not concern my felf to enquire, because 'tis as clear there to all Men of common Sense, as if it were so injoined, and that is enough.

But Secondly, There appears no fuch

thing in the Apostolical practice.

What, did not the Apostles keep Unity among themselves? Did they not Govern the Church, as much as they could, by common consent? Did not every particular Apostle give an account of his ownChurches to the whole Colledge? Did they not advise together upon Emergent Controversies? And was not every Man concluded by the Vote of the whole Council? It is strange to me to see it affirm'd, that they observed no such Polity in founding Christian Societies, when there is no one thing more observable in their

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their whole History, then their great care to maintain Peace, Love, and Unity among all Churches, and that is the very establishment of this Polity; for a duty or obligation common to feveral Societies, supposes one Government common to them all, to which every Society is accountable for the discharge of its Every passage that recommends Union among the Members of that Body, of which Christ is Head, is an express Command to this Duty; for he is Head of the Catholique Church, and the Catholique Church is his whole Body, and therefore particular Churches are only Members of it; and therefore as such, they are obliged by such Precepts to keep the Unity of the whole. If our Learned Author mean, that this Communion was not establish between all Churches in the Apostles time ; I will grant it, because it was impossible that it should, till the settlement of Christianity in the World was brought to fome perfection, and till then fuch a Confederation in Discipline could not be established in all places. For some of them travelling into remote Parts and Founding Churches there, fuch diffant Churthes could not keep up any common Discipline among themselves, for want of con-

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Convenient Correspondence. But as far as this design could be put in practice, it was purfued by the Apostles, keeping Peace and Unity among all Neighbour Churches.

But Thirdly. The Fathers make the Unity of the Church to confift only in the Unions of Faith, Charity, Prace, not in this Political Union.

First, suppose they do, yet if a Political Union be necessary to preserve those of ther Unions, that must be implyed in

them. But

Secondly, What Fathers make it to confift only in those Unions ? Does any Father affirm that there is no other Union in the Church, but only of Faith, Charity and Peace ? that were to the purpose; but because they sometime speak of those Unions, to conclude that they affirm that there is no other only shews a miserable scantiness of proof, and yet beside this the chief Passages that he alledges out of them refer to this Political Union. His first Instance of the Church of Rome's refusing to receive Marcion to Communion, because he was Excommunicated by his own Father the Bishop of Sinope, a small Diocess in Pontes, is the most remarkable Precedent of this Unity of Discipline that he could have

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have pitched upon in all the Records of the Ancient Church; for if they were bliged not to admit him into Communion in one Church, when he was Excommunicate in another, then they were under fome Law of Government common to both; how elfe flould the Church of Rome be obliged to put in execution a censure of the little remote Church of Synope ? And yet too without this obligation the Discipline of the Church would be utterly defeated, for what had become of that, if it had not been of force at Rome, and every where elfe, as well as at home. And of the fame nature is the known and famous case of Synefius, who, when he had Excommunicated Andronicus and his Companions, requires of all Bishops in the World not to receive them to Communion under pain of Excommunication, as dividing that Unity of the Church which Christ has appointed. Though this was only for the greater caution, for though he had not given this notice, they were all obliged under the fame penalty of Excommunication not to admit them to Communion, without their Bishop's Certificate or Communicatory Letters; and as long as that rule was observed, which was till the time of the Usurpation, the

Discipline of every particular Church was without any trouble effectual in all Churches all the World over. But to return to Marcion, the reason, says our Author, why the Roman Church refused Communion to Mercion, when he was Excommunicated by his Father, was because his Father and they were of one Faith, and one Mind. And let it be the reason if he pleases, for what can follow thence. then that Unity of Faith obliges to Unity of Discipline ? And that too is expresty enough infer'd in the following words, which he has omitted, We cannot, i. e. we ought not to act contrary to our fellow Mis nifter. But after all we need only refer this whole matter to our Learned Author's own decision, who has given his judgment of it in these words: 'It is a rule grounded upon apparent Equity, and frequently declared by Ecclefiastical Canons, that no Church shall admit into its Protection or Communion any Persons who are Excommunicated by another Church, or who do with draw themselves from it. And this he proves by the Canon of the African Fal thers against Appeals to Rome, by the proceedings against Marcion, by St. Cy. prian's repulse of Maximus, and Novatian, and Cornelius of Felicissimas, by the punishment

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nishment of Dioscorus, who was deposed for it, and by the Mandate of Synefius to all Christian Churches against Andronicus! And what can we defire more then this, That as this Rule was a standing Law of the Christian Church, so it was grounded upon apparent Equity; and fuch Laws are Obligatory all the World over, because their Violation is apparent Iniquity; in short,it was no Arbitrary Rule, but fuch an one as was its own obligation by its own intrinsick Goodness and Usefulness. As for our Authors Passages out of Tertullian, they do him as little Service as this Precedent of Marcion: For they expresly affert this Unity of Discipline in the Catholique Church. We are one Body by our agreement in Religion, our Unity of Discipline, and our being in the same Covenant of hope. What can be more evident then that he makes the Unity of the Christian Body to confift in an Unity of Discipline as well as of Faith? And to the fame purpose are all his other Passages out of the Ancients, that from the Unity of Faith in all Churches infer this Unity of Discipline, as is obvious to any one that will but peruse them. The Fourth Argument is only a Repetition of the two first, and therefore is already consider'd. And

And fo is the fifth, wiz. That this Unity could not comport with the Apostolical State of the Church, when Christian Churches were founded in fuch diftant places, as could not with convenience correspond. That is to fay, it was not reduced to practice till it was practicable, and that I must acknowledge it was not in all places till after the Apostles, but as far as it could be obtain'd it was carefully observed from the beginning. The Sixth Argument taken from the autovoula or liberty of particular Churches to govern themselves. I have answered in the foregoing Discourse, by shewing its Confistency with its Subjection to the Catholique Church, because as our Learned Author here very well observes, The Peace of the Church was preserved by Communion of all parts together, not by the subjection of the rest to one part, But the truth is, in profecuting this Argument, he has not only answered that but all the rest, by confessing the absotute necessity of this Political Verity; fo that without it Christianity must have perished, by referring the judgment of the cause to St. Cyprian, and by acknowledging a double relation or capacity in every Bishop, one toward his own Flock, another toward the whole Church, and that

that is all the Political Union we con-

But Seventhly, This Political Unity does not accord with the nature of the Gospel, because it would bring too much Worldly State and Grandeur into the Church, as appears by the Papal Monarch And that is true, a Monarchical Unity would naturally bring in a Worldly Kingdom, but not fuch an Unity as confifts in the Communion of all Parts together, and not in the Subjection of the rest to one part, as our Author expresses it, or as Mr. Thorndike often repeats it, That not the infinite Power of one Church, but the Regular Power of all, is the mean provided by the Apostles for attaining Unity in the Whole. This is the state of the Question between us, and therefore all our Authors flourishes about the Papal Tyranny are nothing but flourish, because it is so far from being that Catholick Unity that we own, that it is the whole defign of this work to prove, that it is a most execrable and impudent subversion of it. The 8th and 9th Arguments proceed upon the fame Supposition of a Papal Monarchy. The tenth upon its no Necessity, against our Authors own confession. The 11th and 12th because such an Unity was never in fact S 4

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fact attain'd. If he means in full perfection, no more was ever any Government, and therefore it is not to be required in this World; but if he means that it was never put in practice, so as in good measure to attain its end, the whole Hiflory of the Church, down to the Papal Usurpation contradicts it, as appears by the whole Series of this Discourse. This is all that this learned Man has alledged upon this Argument, and from it the Reader I hope is fufficiently fatisfied, how little that has to alledge for it felf, for he was a person of that comprehensive mind that he never omitted any thing pertinent to his defign, was never in debt to any cause that he undertook, nor ever fail'd that, but when that fail'd him, and therefore when we see so great a man able to fay so little in defence of this uncatholick Affertion, that is the strongest proof that we can have, and perhaps ftronger then any we could have had without it, that it is utterly indefensible.

PART IL

## PART II.

## SECT. I.

Aving in the former Part of this Discourse set down the practice of the Church, both as to the Exercise of its own Turisdiction within it self, and its entire subjection to the Civil Powers, whilst it fublished meerly upon its own Charter, without any Affiftance or Protection from them : We are now arrived at a new state of things, as they stood under Christian Emperors. And here we shall find that the Government, and the Constitution of the Church continued, as it had ever been within it felf; and that the Christians, when the Empire was on their fide, own'd the fame kind of Subjection. and that upon the fame Principles of Duty, to the Civil Government, that they had ever done in the times of Perfecution; and when I have made good both these, it will make up a compleat Demonstration both of the unalienable Power of the Church-within it felf, and of the Sense of the Catholique Church, maniunanimously condemning all resistance as gainst the Civil Government in any case, but most of all in the case of Religion. Under Constantine the Great it is not to be doubted but that they were forward enough in their Loyalty and Obedience to his Government, for all Men are for the Government, when the Government is for them; and therefore this part of the Enquiry concerning the Peaceable behaviour of Christians under his Reign is wholly superfeded, because if they did their Duty, they had no motive or temptation not to do it, submission to his Government being no less their Interest then their Duty, and therefore it was no matter of Praise or Vertue in them. if they own'd and honour'd that Power that was their peculiar Deliverance and Protection. So that this fide of the Controversie I shall altogether wave in this place, and only confider the Ecclefiaftical State of things under his Government, where I once intended to have Exemplified the due Exercise of Regal Supremacy in the Christian Church from his Example and I need a bon a noise co

First, As a Sovereign Prince and tho

Secondly, Asia Christian Sovereign.
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First, In matters of Faith and Christian Doctrine. Second.

Secondly, In matters of Discipline and Christian Government, and here particularly,

First, Of his Power in Summoning Councils, as Supreme Governor of a No.

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Secondly, Of that Obligation that he brings upon himself, by becoming a Christian,

First, To abet the Power of the Church

with his own Secular Authority.

Secondly, To endow it with a Revenue for the maintenance of the Service of God, and those that attend upon it.

But upon more mature deliberation I thought it much more adviseable to forbear all fuch Reasonings and Discourfes, till I had first set down the whole matter of Fact, as things stood, not only under his Reign, but all the Succeeding Emperors, where we shall find Precedents enough to make up a Demonstration of all the fore-mentioned Principles. But because this is the first Instance of Uniting Church and State into one Body, and because this Wife and Prudent Emperor feems to have exerted his Power in both exactly, according to the Rules both of Religion and Government, I shall the more curiously consider the management of Affairs under his Reign,

Reign, whereby will be fully exemplified how this Union may be reduced to pra-Aice, without any Diminution of either Power; or Confusion of one with another, and that will plainly demonstrate wherein confifts the Original Rights of the Church in a Christian State, and the due Exercise of the Supremacy of Christian Kings over all Ecclesiastical Persons. Rights, and Powers. Now because the Supreme Power in all Government is the Legislative Power, and is the thing most disputed in this Controversie, I shall shew that he was fo far from annexing this Power in the Church to the Imperial Crown, that he exprelly afferted its inherent Right, and Protected it in its Exercife within it felf, with all his zeal and ability. In that whenever he had a mind to have any Ecclefiaftical Laws Enacted, he never prefumed to do it by his. own Authority, which he ever declared would have been no less Crime then to invade the Power of God himself, but always referred the matter to the Bishops in Council, and by their Canons he framed his Ecclefiaftical Laws, but never made any without or against them. And that is a full and clear acknowledgement of that antecedent Authority that they enjoyed by our Saviour's appointment, when

when he constituted the Apostles and their Successors, Supreme Governors of his Church to the End of the World. So that in all Changes and Revolutions of things, their Government must remain unalterable and indefeafible, and whatever Affistance or Opposition it met with from the Powers of the World, it still kept close to its own Original Jurisdiction. But then again, though this Emperour permitted the Church the just Exercise of its inherent right of Enacting Ecclefiastical Laws, yet he did it so as to preferve to himself his own Imperial Prerogative of Supervising all their Acts and Proceedings, and either to give their Decrees force of Law, or wholly to reject them, as feem'd good to his Royal Wisdom. The two great Controversies of the Church in his time (and the greatest that ever were at any time.) were the Schifm of the Donatifts, and the Herefie of the Arians; one concerning a point of Doctrine, and another of Discipline; both which he referred not to his Senate, his Privy Council or his Præfedi-Prætorie, but to the Judgment and Determination of Ecclefialticks, to fettle the Debates as they were directed by the Rules of Faith, and the Laws and Customs of the Church, but fo as to referve

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ferve to himself Supreme Inspection of the whole matter, as far as it concerned the Peace of Church and State: Which in all Christian Common-wealths is the same thing, for there all Ecclesiastical Schriss are really so many breaches of the Civil Peace.

First, As for the Schism of the Donarifts, it broke out about the beginning of Constantine's Reign, most fay the very fame year 306, upon occasion of the Laws concerning the Restitution of the Lapfi, by which any Clergy-man that had fallen in Perfecution, or committed any other enormous Crime, was to be punished by perpetual deposition, so that though upon Penance and Satisfaction he might be received to Lay-Communion, yet he was never to be restored again to his Office in the Church. Thus one of the three Italian Bishops, that had been decoved to the Confecration of Novatian in order to a Canonical pretence for his Schifm, was upon submif-fion and confession of his fault, received by Cornelius into Lay-Communion, as he declares in his Synodical Epiftle to Fabian of Antioch & de excuvorroquer ws Name. And fo Trophimus a Bishop, that had promoted the fame Schifm in the Roman Church, was upon his Repentance abfolved

Apud Enfeb. l. 6. tap. 43. absolved, but yet only admitted to Lave Communion, as St Cyprian declares in his Epistle to Antonianus, Sic tamen admissus est Trophimus ut Laicus communicet, non quali tocum Sacerdotis Vsurpetan Trophis mus was fo received, that he might communicate as a Laick, not that he might, 'Usurp the place of a Prieft.

And forthe fame St. Gyptian with great spift. 65. indignation complains of the violation of the fame Rule by Fortunatian Bishop of Affur, Graviter & dolenter motus fum fratres charissimi, quod cognoverim Fortunatianum quondam apud vos Epifcopum, post gravem lapsum ruinæ suæ, pro integno nunc agere welle, & Episcopatum febt vindicare capiffe. I am grievoufly troubled to hear that Fortunatian heretofore your Bishop, should after so foul a fall, prefume to take upon himself the Epifcopal Office. And fo in the Cafe of Bafilides and Martialis Spanish Bishops, that had facrificed, and yet challenged their Bithopricks, he fets it down as a judged Cafe That it is in the vain for such men Frustra tales Epifto endeavour to hold copatum fibi ufurtheir Episcopal Of pare conantur cumfice, when it is evi- manifestum lit ejusdent that they are modi homines nec neither fit to prefide ecclesiz Christi pof-

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tali honore prohi- verdotal honour. beri

fe przedle, nec Deo over the Church of facrificia offerre de- God, not to offer fabere. Maxime cum crifice to bim. Espejam pridem nobif- cially when long fince cum & cum omni- it was agreed by all bus omnino Epifco- the Bifhops in the pis in toto mundo whole World, and constitutis, chiam particularly Corne-Cornelius Collega lius our Collegue, nofter facerdos pa- a good and peaceacificus ac justus, & ble Bishop, whom it Martyrio quoque pleafed our Lord to dignatione domini bondur with the honoratus, decreve- Crown of Martyrrit ejufmodi homi- dom, that fuch Ofnes ad panitentiam fenders might be adposse admitti; ab ledge of Penance, but ordinatione autem never to the Order Oleri arque facerdo of the Clergy and fa-

Now this being the received and fettled Discipline of the Christian Church, it happened that under the Perfecution by Dioclefian and Maximinian, the Christians were put to a new fort of Tryal, for whereas the old way was to bring them to facrifice the Idol Gods, in this Referipe of these Emperors they were required up-on pain of death to deliver up their Bia bles.

bles, whence they that did fo, had the name of Traditores, and were justly esteem'd by the Church Guilty of the same Crime of Apostacy as those that sacrificed, and therefore lyable to the fame punishment. And this it was that gave occasion to the Schism of the Donatists, viz. That Cacilian Bishop of Carthage was either himfelf a Traditor, and fo uncapable of receiving holy Orders, or that he was ordain'd by Fælix Bishop of Aptung a Traditor, and fo uncapable of giving them. And had their pretence been true, and for judged by the Church, the Donatists had been no Schismaticks, because by the customary Laws of the Church, Cacilian must have been excluded from any capacity of Office in it. And therefore this controversie that created so much trouble to the Christian World, was not at first about any difference of Opinion: for both parties were agreed that no Traditor could be ordain'd to the Office of a Bishop, and that every Bishop that was a Traditor, ought to be deposed from it. But the only difpute was whether the Persons accused, were really guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge. If they were innocent, and fo pronounced by the Judgment of the Church, then after that the Accusers were apparent Schismaticks,

in dividing Communion from their lawful Bishop. This was the only point at the first Rupture, but when an open Schism was made the Schismaticks foon run into all the extravagancies of the Novatians, and there was then no pure Church in the World but their own, and all Christians that were not of their Faction were no better then Tews and Heathens, whilst all that came from other Churches into theirs, thereby became the only true Children of God. And for that reason they admitted Converts from the Catholicks to their Communion upon the same terms that they did the Heathens. If they were in Orders, they reordain'd them, if Laicks, they rebaptifed them, because whatever was done in the Catholick Communion could be of no Effect, as being done out of the Christian Church. These and a great many more Enormities we shall find in their History, because as their Faction grew in strength, fo it emproved in Infolence, till it run it felf into all manner of rudeness and outrage, and at last perisht in meer Rebellion. For that was the Case of this Schism, that when there was once a form'd party fet up against the Civil Government, all people of perverse tempers naturally flock't into it, not for any love of Religion,

gion, put purely to rub and gratifie the Scab of their innate peevishness, especially when they were flatter'd into an Opinion of higher Priviledges and Prerogatives then their Neighbours, and thereby enjoyed that drunken and transporting pleafure of looking down upon them with holy fcorn and difdainful Pity. And by this Artifice they drew almost all Africa after them, the Africans being of all People most addicted to Innovation, and though the People were outragious in their zeal, yet for what they never understood nor enquired. Infomuch that the Leaders and Writers themselves, that followed after, were utterly ignorant of the Nature and the Rife of the Quarrel, as Optatus plainly proves that Parmenian himself was, though he was the Metropolitan of the Schism. And in the Conference at Carthage under Honorius, when they were only put to it to fhew in what they differ'd from the Catholicks, and upon what grounds they divided, the Party was fo amazed and furprized with their own want of Pretence, that they were utterly vanquisht only because they could not tell what they would have.

But of the Progress of this Schism we shall account afterwards, as for its Birth, it forung from no better Original then Ti Pride

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Pride and Peevishness, supporting it self with a bold and bottomless Lye. Some few persons had in pursuance of their own private Piques and Passions, set up a Faction against their Bishop, and then to justifie themselves load him with all the foul Stories that they could invent, no matter whether true or false, that is all one to the Rabble, who eafily run away with any thing that is Factious or ill-natur'd, and if they can but once get in numbers enough to make up a Faction, all Factions are Snow-Balls. The Story is this, upon the death of Mensurius Bishop of Carthage, Cacilian was chosen by the Majority of Votes to fucceed against the competition of Botrus and Celefius, and received his Confectation from Falix Bishop of Aptung, and some of the Neighbour Bishops of the same Province, but from none of Numidia, which Optatus fays, was done by the contrivance of the Competitors, prefuming to carry the Plurality of Votes; but St. Austin fays it was done in complyance with an immemorial custom, that the Bishop of Carthage was always ordain'd by the Bishops of his own Neighbourhood: but because he brings no proof of his Affertion, I am afraid it is one of his bold and lavish fayings, when he is in hast or distress; for next to St. Ferom, his loofe

loose and fluent way of Writing, has occasion'd more mistakes in the Records of the Church, then any other of the Ancients, and men that are fo voluminous and write fo quick, cannot avoid flumbling into multitudes of hafty and careless flips. And therefore the Authority of Optatus is here rather to be followed that the difgust was taken by the Numidian Bifhops because they were not call'd to the Confecration, & this is made the more probable by the peculiar state of the African Church, for though other Provinces were Govern'd by their own Provincial Synods, by whom their own Metropolitans were ordain'd, yet this Church, notwithstanding that it confifted of three Provinces, Africa properly so call'd, Numidia and Mauritania, as they reckoned up in the Council under St. Cyprian about rebaptizing Hereticks, kept fo close a Communion among themselves, as if they had been but one Province. And we find them all along not acting apart, but all together, as one Common-Council. And that I guess to be the Sense of the words in St. Cyprian's Epistle to Cornelius, Latius fusa est nostra Provincia; habet etiam Numidiam & Mauritanias duas fibi coberentes. Where the mention of the Mouritania dua is supposed by the Learn-T 3

ed to have crept into the Text out of fome Marginal Notes, and so it must have done, for there was no fuch division of that Province, that we ever read of, till Con-Mantine's new division of the Empire, and therefore the true ancient reading must have been this, babet etiam Numidiam & Mauritaniam fibi coherentes ; but take which reading we will, St. Cyprian's plain meaning can be no other then this, That beside his own peculiar Province of Africk properly so called, of which Carthage was the Metropolis, he had two other Provinces. Numidia and Mauritania, inseparably annex't to his Communion by which means be tells Cornelius that he was able to do him fo great fervice in Africk. So that the words are not to be understood as they commonly are as if he had been the Metropolitan of those three Provinces, but that he was Metropolitan of that Province, to which the two other were United in a particular Communion. But to let pals these Critical Conie-Aures. Cacilian is no fooner entered upon his See, but he demands of the Presbyters of his Church the Goods that he found delivered to them in an Inventory left by his Predecessor Mensurius. But they having embezell'd the whole Treafury of the Church, and finding themfelves

selves in danger to be call'd to a severe reckoning, joyn Faction with his defeated Competitors, and conspire to renounce Communion with him. To this Lucilla a Rich, a Proud, and a Factious Lady joyns her felf, her Zeal, and her Money, out of revenge to Cacilian, who whilft he was a Presbyter had reproved her for fome affectedness and fingularity in devotion, and that fort of People if once they are any way disobliged, are of all others the most implacable, and therefore St. 7erom puts her in his Famous Catalogue of Female Hereticks.

las the Father of un- lenæ meretricis adgiment of Goffips, cholaus Antioche-Marcian sent a wo- nus omnium imman before him to mundiciarum re-Rome, to prepare pertor choros duxit the minds of the famineos. Marci-People for receiving on Romam præhis Imposture. A- misit Mulierem, pelles bad his Phi- quæ decipiendos fimilla debauches the menem fuaruhabuit

Simon Magus had Simon Magus He- Epift. ad his Helena, Nicho- resin condidit, He- ciesiphoncleanness awhole Re- jutus auxilio; Nilumine. Montanus bi animos præparaby Prisca and Maxi- ret. Apelles Philo-Women first with comité doctrinari. Gold and then with Montanus immundi

di spiritus prædica- Hereste. And to come tor per Priscam & Maximillam nobiles hæresi polluit. Dimittam vetera, ad dam, Arius ut Orbem deciperet fororem principis antè

nearer our own time. Arius that he might & opulentas fæmi- deceive the World. nas primum auro inveagles the Empecorrupit, deinde rors Sifter; and Donatus that he might gain Profelytes to his viciniora transcen- Schism in Africk, is affifted by the wealth of Lucilla.

decepit, Donatus per Africam ut infælices quosque fætentibus pollueret aquis, Lu-

cillæ opibus adjutus est.

These were the Amazons and the Penihefileas of their feveral Sects, and by them we may fee, that it has ever been the Policy of all Impostors to put their main strength in their Female Forces, knowing their Cause to be better maintained by noise and talk, then sense and reason. I remember Livy fomewhere tells us, that the Romans in times of great Pestilence and Mortality, when they burnt their dead bodies not in fingle Urns, but in vast Heaps and Piles, were careful to intermix the womens bodies with the men, as being more unctuous and combustible in themselves, and so more apt to conveigh the fire to the other Corpfes, that other-

otherwife would have burnt but flowly without them. This is the very practice of the Incendiaries of the Church in all Ages, when they would enflame the men into a Combustion, they always first fet fire on the women, and when they would burn down the House, they thrust the Firebrand into the Thateh, that both eafily takes Fire it felf, and certainly conveighs it to the folid Timber. But to proceed in our History. The party being thus cemented together by Ambition, Covetoufnefs, and Revenge, they write to Secundus Primate of Numidia, & to the other Bishops of that Province that were not invited to the Election and Confecration of Cacilian. to depose him as having been ordain'd by a Traditor. They met at Cirta afterwards call'd Constantina, upon pretence. of Electing a new Bishop of that Diocess, and having chosen one Paulus a very ill v. August. man, and a known Traditor, they pro-contra crefceed to the deposition of Cacilian. But con. lib. 3. before they can pass sentence against him, 28. they were first obliged to clear themfelves of the Crime. But upon Examination of every particular Person, they all Convict one another of Guilt, and abfolve one another by mutual confent. This being done, they adjourn to Carthage, fummon Cacilian to appear before them,

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but he refuses, they being only a Combination of his profess't Enemies, and upon it they immediately depose him for his Obstinacy, and put Majorinus, who was Chaplain to Madam Lucilla, in his place, and fend their Encyclical Letters to all the Bishops in Africa, to signific that they had renounced Communion with Cacilian and all his Adherents as Traditors. And this being done, the people were told that Cacilian was no Church-Officer, that under him they could have no true Sacraments, nor enjoy any means of Salvation, but were in the fame forlorn condition with Pagans and Idolaters. But with themselves were the pure Gospel Ordinances, and all that were Members of their Church, were made Holy without fpot or wrinkle. Amongst them the most forward of the Faction was Donatus à Cafa Nigra, who being the first that fet up a Conventicle, gave name to the Schism. And he having a Natural Faculty of Canting and Infinuating into the Affections of the Rabble, foon inveigled fo great a number into his Party, that they for fook their private Meetings, and built publick Churches, and there inveighed openly against the Idolatry of Cecilian and the Catholicks (for that is the custom of all Fanaticks to improve every.

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every thing into Idolatry a bemean the miserable state of all that would not leave that to joyn with them, and scare the People with perpetual Alarms of certain ruine and destruction if they will not come out of Babylon. By these Arts they prevail every where, and the Schism is on a fuddain spread all over Africk, so as not only to enflame the Church, but to endanger the publick Peace. About which time Constantine having vanquish't Maxentius, he thereby added Italy and Africk to his Government, and for the encouragement of Christianity in Africa, he sends Cacilian large sums of Money to be distributed by him among the Clergy of the three Provinces, and grants them immunities from all publick Burthens. And about the same time, the Donatists finding themselves over powerd by the Catholicks, prefent Analinus the Pro-Conful with a Petition of Appeal to the Emperor; and though afterward, when they found themselves check't by the Civil Government, their great Clamour was, Quid Christianis cum Regibus? Aut quid Episcopis cum Palatio? What have Christians to do with Kings, or Bishops with the Court ? Yet they were (as St. Austin justly upbraids their dis-ingenuity) the first Christians that ever fled

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from the Judgment of the Church, to the Civil Government. Though as for this first Appeal, this is to be faid for them, that they did not Appeal to the Emperour's own Judgment, but only Petition'd him, That he would be pleafed to appoint them Judges of the Caufe in the Church of France, because that Church having wholly escaped the Perfecution, the Bishops of it would be more unconcern'd, and impartial Judges of the Caufe of the Traditors. Whereas themfelves were fo divided and engaged at home, that it was not possible to have any fair determination in Africa. And though the Request hitherto was not very unreasonable, yet the Emperour was highly displeased at it, out of that tender care and folicitude that he ever had for the Peace and Concord of the Christian Church. But however for once he Commissions three French Bifhops, together with Melchiades Bishop of Rome, to hear the Cause, who calling fifteen other Italian Bishops to their Affistance, undertake its judgment, in order to which Ten Bilhops of each Party are commanded from Africa to attend the Council at Rome. Where three days are spent in Examination of Witnesses. but the Donatifts bringing no proof against

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gainst Cacilian himself, the Council declare him innocent. And whether Felix, who Ordain'd him, were a Traditor or not, they would not enter into the Enquiry, as altogether remote from the cause of Cacilian, because though he were to be deposed by the Canons of the Church, yet till those Canons were put in Execution by the Sentence of the Church, all the Acts of his Office were good and valid. But on the other side, Cacilian plyed the Donatists so home with their own Weapon of Accusation. and their foul dealings at Cirta, and the briberies of Madam Lucilla, that they were forced to quit the Council. And yet that was so moderate in the Sentence against them, that it Excommunicated none of them, but only Donatus à Cafis Nigris, that was found guilty of divers other foul Crimes, and the Author of all this mischief. But the rest were invited to return to the Unity of the Church, and offer'd the continuance of of whatever preferments they had in it, though they had been Ordain'd by Majorinus, or any others in a State of Schism.

§. II. But here happens such an unfortunate halt in the Story, as leaves Learned Men at an utter loss what chase

way, fo as that by the great variety of Opinions they have run the whole matter into confusion. All which is occafioned by a Chasm in Optatus his History,

for here it breaks off and skips over the whole Transaction of the great Council of Arles, and hearing at Milan. Of which it is certain that Optatus could not be ignorant, who has fo accurately described all the less material parts of the Ad annum Story, and as Baronius argues very well, 314. Num. Tot tantaque Concio toto Orte a tam celebri Episcoporum conventu facta & ab Imperatore Edictis publicis definita in Donatistas, nequaquam Optatum præteriise potuerunt. 'Things fo many and fo great, done in fo famous a Council of Bilhops known all the World over, and publick Edicts made by the Emperor against the Donatists, could not possibly be altogether unknown to Optatus. And therefore this part of the story must needs have been loft, either through injury of time, or the fraud of the Donatifts, which is most likely, for there was not any one Ancient Book, whose Copies were fo corrupt and confused as this of Optatus, as Baldwin justly complains. But which way foever it came to pass, this part of the flory being loft, and fo

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the Transactions that hapned some years after, as the Appeal of the Donatifts from the Council of Arles, to Constantine at Milan, and his detaining Cacilian at Breß, immediately following in this place, they are supposed to have been done at this time, though they hap'ned not till after the Council of Arles. Thus Baronius having procured from Petrus Pithæus Constantine's Letter to the Catholique Bishops upon the Donatists Appeal to himself, after the Sentence against them at Arles, and divers other Papers relating to that Council, because in Optatus they immediately follow the Council of Rome, he has thrust them in there, to the great confusion of the story, as if they had been done immediately after that Council, when they ought to have been placed after the Council of Arles. And this is evident enough from the words themselves, that immediately follow the Sentence of Melchia-Sufficit ergo & Donatum tot Sententiis esse percussam, & Cæcilianum tanto judicio esse purgatum, & tamen Donatus appellandum esse ab Episcopis credidit. Ad quam Appellationem Constantinus Imperator sic respondit, o rabida furoris audacia; ficut in caufis Gentilium fieri solet, Appellationem interposuerunt. Now befide

beside that this Answer of Constantine is certainly known to have been made upon their Appeal from Arles, the Tot Sententiæ against Donatus here mentioned, could not be till after the judgement of that great Council; for before that, there was but one Sentence against him, viz. by the fmall Council at Rome. and therefore these Appeals from so many Judgments, and so great a Judicature (as Optatus speaks of) must have been after the Council of Arles. And that puts an end to the dispute among Learned Men, when the Donatists first Appeal'd to the Emperor from the Episcopal Judgment, whether after the Council at Rome, or not till after the Council at Arles. Baronius, Binius, Petavius, Labbe and others will have the first Appeal to have been from the Council at Rome. because it immediately follows so in Optatus. But this is confuted by Valefius (a Man learned and curious) with many pregnant passages out of St. Austin, expresly attesting that the Donatists only complain'd against the first Council at Rome, but Appeal'd from the fecond at Arles. And their different behaviour towards these Councils is every where fo carefully remarked by him, that the Testimonies cannot be avoided. But then

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then the Learned Man knows not how to bring off Optatus, but by leaving him under an enormous mistake of Memory, applying that which was done after the Council of Arles to the Council of Rome ; or by fome defect and corruption in the Copies, which he only suspects without affigning any ground or reason for his suspition. But if he had only a little consider'd that the whole Story of the Council of Arles is omitted in the Books of Optatus; and that this Passage of the Appeal to Constantine relates to divers Sentences, which could not be till after the Sentence at Arles, he could not but have eafily feen where lay the defect of the Copies. To which might be added, that this defect reaches not to the Council of Arles alone, but to some part of the Council of Rome; for whereas that confifted of a double Sentence, the Abfolution of Cacilian, and the Condemnation of Donatus, the latter part is wholly wanting in Optatus, and immediately after the Sentence of Absolution follow the words Sufficit ergo Donatum tot Sententiis esse percussum, &c. From all which it is put past all doubt where lyes the breach of the Copies, and how far it extends, viz. From the absolving Sentence of Cacilian at Rome to the Appeal

of the Schismaticks from the Council at Arles. And this being observed, the story runs smoth and clear, that has hitherto been so consused and involved, as to be thought to report the same Appeal from both Councils, though it is evident that it can agree but to the last. Now this one difficulty being overcome, our Passage after it will be easie and pleasant, all the rest of the story lying in

its due and proper order.

And what effect the Sentence of the Council at Rome had upon the Schismatiques, we have a distinct account in the Emperors own Letter to Ælafius, or rather Ælianus, his Præfect of Africa. For whereas we might reasonably have expected, that they should have acquiesced in the Authority of fo fair, so grave and fo gentle a Sentence, they return home exasperated with rage, and swoln with infolence, raife new Tumults, perpetualby tease the Emperor with fresh Tales, and Complaints against Cacilian, and represent him as utterly unworthy of any Office in the Christian Church. And when the Emperor replies that this was all in vain with him, because the whole business had been so fairly determin'd, by fit and unexceptionable Judges; they cry out, That their cause had not a legal

gal Tryal, that the Council was packt, that the proceedings were clancular, and the Judgment partial. The Emperour, fuch was the clemency of his Nature, and his tender care of the Peace of the Church, condescends to their importunity, and Summons the famous Council. at Arles, of a much greater number of Bishops, and more unknown to each other, as coming out of the distant parts of Christendom, to review the Decree of the Council at Rome. This Council meets in the year 314, where the Schifmaticks repeat their old Stories against Cacilian, but without any other proof then Popular Report raised by themfelves; and therefore were not only condemn'd by the Council, but rejected with fcorn and derifion. And to prevent the like attempts of Forgery for the time to come, they make Canons to suppress that general way of Accusation, as Canon the 13th, they Ordain, That no Man shall be Convicted of having been a Traditor by bare Testimony, but by publick Acts and Records, and if any Man from that time be fo Convicted, that then he shall be degraded from his Holy Orders; but if before his Conviction he have Ordain'd any, that his Crime shall be no prejudice to the validity of his (292)

his Ordination. And Canon the rath they Decree, That whoever falfely Accuse their Brethren ( as the Schismaticks had Cacilian and Falix ) should not be received into Communion even at the hour of death, which was the severest Sentence in the Christian Church. This shameful overthrow makes great numbers of the Schifmaticks quit the Faction, and reconcile themselves to their Bishop: But the more stubborn and Seditious are not ashamed to Appeal (as it is their first Appeal)in the Council it felf to the Emperor, and this is fignified by the Council to him by Letter, to know his farther will & pleafure. From whence it is evident that the Emperor himself was not present in Council, as 'tis commonly supposed; and Baronius, Binius, and most of the Roman Writers, are to civil to him as to excuse his presence, though a Lay-man, because the controverfie was not about any matter of Faith, but a particular matter of Fact con-cerning Cacilian. And it is agreed among them, that of all fuch matters Lay-men are as competent Judges as Bishops. But however that may be, and what Right Sovereign Princes have of fitting in Council, whatever the matter of Debate may be, I shall discourse in its proper place. It is certain here that the

the Emperor was not present in Council, because they signified their proceedings to him by Letter, which if he had been present, they could or need not have done. And beside that, the thing is more then plain enough by the Appeal it felf, for if Constantine had been there present, to what purpose was it for the Donatifts to remove the Cause to him, that would have been only to Appeal from himself to himself. But he being inform'd of the defign by the Letter from the Council, replies to it, with great detestation of the Schismaticks Obstinacy and Perverseness, and wonders how they dare to Appeal to his Judgment, when they were already Condemn'd by the Judgment of God in the Votes of the Bishops, who in these matters judged in God's stead, and by his appointment. And therefore he esteems their Appeal as no less then Treason and Rebellion against God himself. But however he advifes them to patience, and to give the Schismaticks some time to consider, and if they perfifted in their stubbornness, to give themselves no farther trouble about them, but to repair to their feveral And feeing the Schismatiques had been so prophane as to make their Appeal to him, he would take care to

provide them Guards for their safe Conduct to his Court, It ibi shi mortem pervideant, which whatever it signifies, is a very high threatning. So that after all, I do not find that Constantine ever in the least accepted of their Appeal, looking upon it as no less sin then an affront to God himself, but only resolved now to proceed against them, as a Sovereign Prince, with all severity, as sactious and

feditious Persons in the Empire.

And about this time was the business of Falix of Aptung examin'd by Alian the Proconful of Africa; for though it is generally supposed that this was done before the Council of Arles, yet it is evident by the Acts of the Court, that it was done the fame year, and it is certain that there was no notice taken of it in the Council, and therefore the first account of it, that was return'd to the Emperour, must have been after its disso-And this it was, The Schismalution. ticks making fuch perpetual Clamours about Falix his being a Traditor, and though it was nothing to the Cause of Cacilian, yet the Emperour having caught them in fo many Factions and Stories, suspects every thing that they fay of falshood, and therefore writes to his Proconful, to enquire into the matter of Fact upon the place where it was transacted. He accordingly Examines all the Officers, that had belonged to the Court of Inquisition at Aptung under Dioclehan, at which time and place the Fact was laid against Fælix, who all acquit him from any fuch Crime. And whereas the main Accufation was taken from some passages in a Letter of one Cacilian a Duumvir of the City of Aptung to Falix, Ingentius a publick No-tary confesses, That he was hired and fuborn'd by the Schismatiques to forge the Epistle, and foist it into the Records of the Court. Upon which he is Committed to close Prison, and an account of the whole matter return'd to the Emperour, who now supposing that after so fowl a discovery, if it were made publique over the Christian World, it would fo shamefully expose the wickedness of the Schismatiques, that they could never have the confidence to appear more in a Cause so soul and base. But what method to take he could not fuddenly refolve, one while he thinks of fending Commissioners, but then confidering the Obstinacy of the Schismaticks, he fears nothing will be effectually done, but by himself, and therefore resolves upon a Journey into Africk, to fettle

fettle the whole matter there, but upon what occasion I know not, he changes his mind and fummons the Parties concern'd to appear before himself at Rome, and writes to the present Proconful Probianus to fend Ingentius thither with a good Guard, That he might publickly Thame those seditious and troublesom People, that have the confidence to make continual Clamours, and raise false Stories against their Bishop, that so these Animosties and Contentions being quell'd, the People may be brought to attend the Devotion of the Church, with due Reverence, and without brawls and discords. They are the Emperour's own words; but for what cause 'tis not Recorded : Cacilian appears not, and the Donatists that came, either finding themselves discovered by the coming of Ingentius, or for fome other reason, endeavour to make their escape, but some of them are detain'd by force and fent in close custody to Milan. But those that Recover'd Ægypt, raifed fuch Tumults there, as put the whole Country into an Uproar, of which the Emperour is informed by Celsus the Governor, who orders him at present to take no notice of their disorders, but to hasten Cacilian and his Accusers to Milan. And here I have

a strong fancy ought to have come in the mutilated Story of Cacilian's confinement at Brixia in Optatus; for as it follows after the Chaim, in which the whole Story of the Council of Arles is loft, fo it agrees with Constantine's account with the variety of his own Resofolutions, and the Transactions at Milan. For Brixia or Bress lay not far from that City, fo that both of them might make up the Scene of this Affair. And therefore when the Schismatiques gain'd leave to return home, and procured Cacilian to be detain'd, it was probably upon their dismission, upon some change of the Emperour's Resolutions. But when they came home, they betake themselves to the constant Artifice of all Schismaticks, to keep up their Faction by tricks and lyes. And therefore they raife mighty brags of their great Victory, and tell the People that Cacilian was Condemn'd, and Imprison'd by the Emper ur, and when once they had raifed this lye among the Party, it was easie to keep it up for ever, infomuch that we find it confidently infifted upon, in the Conference at Carthage, an hundred years after. Upon this Cacilian gets leave to return home for undeceiving the People, by which means the Facti-

ons are raised, and the Tumults enflamed, and that occasions two Letters from the Emperor, the former to Celfus, to fend Cacilian and his Accusers, the latter dated from Brixia to the Donatist Bishops, commanding their immediate appearance, and withal affuring them, that if they can but make good any one Article against Cacilian, it should weigh as much with him, as if they had proved the whole Charge, and this I suppose produced the Meeting at Milan, but whatever becomes of this conjecture of mine, and fragment of Optatus; it is certain that there they met, where all the foul dealings of the Donatists, especially the forgery of Ingentius being openly exposed, it is needless to tell what was the event, when it could be no other then that the Emperor should publickly declare the innocence of Cacilian, and fcoure away the Schismaticks as a combination of incorrigible Knaves. But here St. Austin is concern'd to excuse the Emperour for judging an Ecclesiastical cause after the Episcopal Judicature, and a thousand excuses are invented for him by the Roman Writers; as his being then but a Novice in the Faith, and not sufficiently inform'd of the Difcipline of the Church; or his being tired out

out by the restless importunity of the Donatists, so that he could enjoy no quiet till he yielded to it. These things may be true, but they are needless, for though it may not be proper for a Lay-man to judge in Ecclefiaftical Causes, yet it may not be altogether unlawful, especially when the Peace of the State depends upon them, and that was the Emperour's case at this time, all Africa was in an Uproar, and in danger to be loft by the Sedition; and therefore it highly concern'd him to exert his own Power, as he would fecure fo great a part of his Empire, and upon that reason he might take the Judgment upon himself, thereby to restrain the Donatists from raising Disturbances and Seditions in the State. Though when all is done, it is certain that the Emperour never accepted the Appeal, nay that he protested against it, as an affront to the Divine Authority, and fetting up his own Power above God's, appears not only from his Epiftle to the Bishops at Arles, but his perpetual Declarations of it. And therefore it is not to be supposed that he would be prevail'd with to take upon himself a Judgment that he fo folemnly difavowed. And therefore his design in hearing the Cause after Judgment, was not to judge,

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judge, but to expose the Schismatiques, or to fuffer them to expose themselves. For the cause was already so fully and clearly determin'd at the Council, that it could not admit any Review, but because they were so restless to have it re-heard before the Emperour himfelf, he at last feem'd to condescend to their importunity, when he knew it would prove their fatal overthrow, for it is observable that he would not meddle with the business at all, till he had the discovery of Ingentius his Forgery in his Pocket, with which they were fo furprifed, that instead of following their Suit, it utterly dispersed them. And for the very same reason, he gave them other Hearings after his own Imperial Judgment, only to give them the greater scope to lay open themselves and their dishonesty to the World, as will appear anon in the foul discovery of Nundinarius the Deacon.

§. III. But after the Imperial Sentence against them, instead of submitting to so great an Authority and such clear Conviction, they raise high clamours of injustice and oppression, and when they return home put the People into Riots and Tumults, and seize a Church in Numidia belong-

belonging to the Catholicks, and of the Emperors own Foundation. Of which when complaint was made to the Empeperor by the Bishops of the Province: fuch was then the fury of the Schismaticks, and the disorder of the times, that at that time he could fend them no other relief, then by exhorting them to patience. and bestowing a new Church upon them, not daring to inflict any punishment upon the Offenders for fo long a Train of Sedition, but leaving them (ashimfelf speaks) to the Judgment of God. And as he had not long before witten to his Lieutenant Celfus, that he should forbear them a while, till himself could have leifure to visit Africa, some now affures them, that when he comes, the Schismaticks thall feel the Event of his Abused Patience. and that he doubted not, when he came to convince them of fuch manifest Villany, that would utterly spoil all their Glory of Martyrdom. For that they gave out to justifie their stubborness against the Imperial Edicts, that whatever punishments the Emperor decreed against them, they were ready to undergo as Martyrs for the truth of God, and there fore that they were fo far from dreading any feverity, that they defired the Execution of Penal Laws against them. And

fo they perfift railing at the Emperor for denying Justice, and reviling the Catholicks for inciting him to Perfecution. Till at length he is forced to Enact fevere Laws against them, and first of all, all their Meeting-houses are confiscated to the Crown, and accordingly feized on, and it hapned very luckily at that time that one Nundinarius a Deacon of the Donatists, who was privy to the first contrivance of the Schism, at their meeting at Cirta, discovers the whole Conspiracy to Zenophilus the Pro-Conful of Numidia. and proves both by publick Records, and a great number of Witnesses, that Silvanus, whom they had made Bishop of Cirta, and the most factidas man of the whole Party, was a Traditor, and that my Lady Lucilla had given the Numidian Bishops a great sum of Money to depose Cecilian, and bestow his Bishoprick upon her Ladyships Chaplain. And this discovery being fignified by Zenophilus to the Emperor, together with a Catalogue of the Seditious Practices of Silvanus, he condemns both Silvanus, and all the other Ring-leaders of the Faction, to perpetual Banishment, and that is the utmost feverity that he ever proceeded to; for though some of them were sentenced to death, yet fuch was his natural Clemency, that

that he turn'd it into banishment and thus by feifing their Conventicles and fending away their Leaders, he gave himself ease and quiet for some time from their disturbances. But now behold the constant ingenuity of all Schismaticks, to be fure to beleager the State, when ever they find it in any distress, and to gain their own ends out of the publick Necessities, and to make what demands they please, when the Government is not in a condition to contend with them. And thus about this time the War between Constantine, and Licinius breaking out, the Donatists presently accost the Emperor with a bold Petition, both for granting liberty of Conscience, and recalling Silvanus and his Collegues from Banishment, are so confident as to tell him in broad expression, that they would fuffer a thousand deaths before they would be reconciled to that Prelatical Knave of his, Cacilian. And yet so involved were the Emperors Affairs at that time, that he was forced to grant whatever they demanded, and orders Verinus his Vice-Roy in Africk to leave them to their own Liberty. And that they used with all manner of Infolence, whilst the Civil War lasted, neither now would they be fatisfied with their own Liberty at home, but endeavour

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to spread their Schism into all parts of the Catholick Church, and poyfon all the Emperors Dominions with the Spirit of Faction and Sedition. What Emissaries they fent into other Churches is not fo well known, but to Rome they fend one Victor as Titular Bishop of that See, who took upon himself all I piscopal Authority over his Party, and had many Successors in his Usurpation, but not having Liberty to keep their publick meetings in the City, they betook themselves to Field Conventicles, and Assembled in the Roks and Mountains and from thence were commonly call'd Montenfes, Campita, and Rupitani. This is all that we have recorded of them in this Emperors Reign; for he having overcome Licinius; and being Master of the whole Empire, was big with a refolution to fettle the Peace of the Church as well as the State, and once more to quell the Obstinacy of the Shifm by the Authority of a General Council. But whilft he is defigning this great and pious work, news is brought him of a worfe Flame broke out at Alexdria, by means of the Herefy of Arrius, that had already engaged not only all Egypt, but was blown over into Afia, and for the suppression of this dangerous Schism ( for so at first he look't upon it, and

and therefore only endeavoured to reconcile the Parties ) he Summons the Great Council of Nice, to which among the other Famous Bishops that were present at it, Cacilian was furnmon'd, but no Bilhops of the Pars Donati, as supposing them out of the Communion of the Catholick Church But after this Council we hear little or no thing of the Donatists in this Emperor's Reign, himself and the Christian Bishops being wholly employed, in quenching that more fatal and pernicious Herefie, and how effectually and speedily he rooted up the Herefie it felf, by the Authority of the Church abetted with the Imperial Power, we shall demonstrate in its proper place. For though after the He refie it felf was vanquish't by this Council, the Hereticks or rather their Friends. created him infinite trouble about it, by Oblique Arts and for other ends: vet this I affirm, and shall prove, that they durst never own the Herefle it felf, not only in his time but in all the time of his Sont Constantius till the end of his Reign. And now here I ought to break off the Story of the Donatifts with this Emperors History, but their Progress in Schism after his indulgence, is fuch a natural reprefentation of the growth and improvement of Peevilanes, if once left to its own ! berty,

berty, that I cannot forbear to represent their whola Story at one View, especially because it suits a Parallel case that lyes at our own doors, fo exactly, that two Indentures cannot be more like then these two Schisms. And the truth of it is, all Schisms are but the same, for though they are raifed about different matters, yet they all move in the very fame track of Sedition, till from meer peevishness they advance to the heighth of Cruelty, and end in Rebellion; and it is nothing elfe then the natural method of Ill-nature and passion, if but suffered to purfue the bent of its own Inclinations. And therefore it is no wonder if all Schismaticks, howsoever distant in Time, Place, or Interest, follow one another so accurately in the very same steps, when they are all acted by one and the same Principle of Nature, then it is for Colts to be wild in all Parts of the World, if never brought under the Whip and Bridle. And that is the greatest benefit of Government, to be a curb to the illenatur'd Passions of Mankind . for without that Man would be the most unruly of all Beasts, especially the meaner fort of the kind, the Rabble that are ever drawn in, to be the chief Actors in these Religious Tumults. And that

is the reason, that these are more Cruel and Barbarous then other Seditions, because they are carried on by the wildest part of Mankind, that have heightned and enflamed their natural Salvageness. with the heats of Enthufiafm, and Principles of false Religion. All which will evidently appear, by comparing what our felves have feen and felt, with what these wild Schismatiques acted Thirteen hundred years fince. The actions of both fuiting fo exactly to each other, that had they been the very fame Men. they could not have acted more like themselves. The Twins that were fo like, that their own Mother could not distinguish them, were not more so, then these two Schisms though born at such a distance of Time and Place.

§. IV. The Donatists then having by the Emperours forced Indulgence, and the Diversion given him by the Arians, gain'd fo much ease and quiet, as not only to encrease their Schism at home, but to carry it into foreign Parts, it happened that about the year 331, Donatus, Surnamed the Great, succeeded Chaplain Majorinus; a Man of incredible Pride and Insolence, that pretended to familiarity with God, and Infpiration from Y 2

from Heaven; that could Cant, could Lye, could Blifpheme, thift his Face and Pretences, with all Turns of Affairs, when the Government was in any Streight, threaten it with the Numbers of his Party; but when his Party was low, could write Fleas for Peace and forbearance, from the weakness of the Faction, and meekness of its Principles. And upon any great occasion he had his new Lights and Discoveries from Heaven, and when ever he pleased God appear'd to him in Brightneß, and shewed him the horns in his hands, to direct him for ferving his Will in that Generation. But above all. he had an implacable spight against a l Saperiours and Governors, but most particularly he let himself ( so accursed was the Envy of his Pride to all that were above him ) to revile and trample upon the Imperial Majesty it self; and to say all the ill that can be faid of one Man in one word, he was the very I.O. of that Rebellious and Schismatical Age.

Under him were spawn'd the C reumcellians, a fort of Levellers or Army Saints, whom he stil'd the Captains of the Godly, and made them not only his own Life-Guard, but an Army against the Power of the Empire. These wandred up and down the Country in great

Bodies,

Bodys, and pretended to reform the Government by Plunder and Robbery, and wherever they came, fet Apprentices free from their Masters, and Debtors from their Creditors, if they would but join with them, to pull down Idolatry and Arbitrary Government: And force poor Men to deliver up, their Bonds and Indentures to fave their Lives. And yet all this while they were a very praying People, and fought the Lord for direction in all their Villanies. And now it is no wonder if Men of these defperate Principles, and managed by fuch a Guide as Donatus, proceeded to the heighth both of folly and outrage; infomuch that whilft they were in the heat of their Blood and Zeal, they feared no danger, out of Ambition of being Martyrs for the cause of God, and some of them were fo wildly transported, as to hang drown, and flabb themselves for the Glory of the Lord. And thus for many years they harassed Africa with their Insolence and Cruelty, and made the habitable parts of the Country more falvage then the Deferts themselves. No Man could dwell in his own House, or Travel abroad about his buliness with any fafety, but all was exposed to the Rapine of these merciles Robbers. Till

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at length, after unspeakable Patience, complaint being made by the Catholicks to the Emperor Constans, of their deplorable condition, he fent two Commiffioners, Paulus and Macarius, with a shew of dividing the Emperors bounty among the poor and distressed, and by that means to fosten them from that sierceness, that they had contracted by this wild Schism, to some sense of Duty towards their Superiors, and of Humanity towards their Neighbours. The Commissioners coming into Africa confult with the Bishops what course was fitest to be taken : But the Party of Donatus Combine one and all to hinder all their endeavours of Concord, and dispatch Letters and Messengers into all Parts aferehand, forbiding their People to receive any thing of the Emperor's Bounty, it being a fcandal to the People of God to receive any Alms from Sinners. And beside this, the Rabble are frighted with flying Reports and Stories, that the Commissioners brought along with them the Emperors Images, that were to be placed upon the high Altar, at the time of Celebrating the Euchariffical Sacrifice; that so the People might be drawn in, to give Divine Worship to the imperial Image, and fo become guilty

of Idolatry, and from this time the words Pagan and Idolator were the two most common Titles that they bestowed upon the Catholicks. Nay farther then all this, when the Commissioners acquaint the great Danatus with their Message, he replies with his usual fcorn and rage, Quid est Imperatori cum Ecclesià ? reviles the Emperor himself with fawcy and taunting Language, and tells them, that they might give themselves, if they pleafed, the pleafure of travelling through the African Provinces, but he had taken care to fave their Masters Money. And another Donatus Bishop of Bagaia, when the Commissioners came to his City, gathers together Troops of Circumcellians from all Parts, perhaps into a Malthouse, to Assassinate the Commissioners. But they to defend themselves, upon the discovery of the Conspiracy, send for a Party of the Emperor's Forces, some few whereof being upon the Guard, abused and affronted by the Fanatick Rabble, that were Assembled in great Numbers, acquaint their Fellow-Soldiers with the Indignity, who, do what their Officers could, fall upon them with great fury, kill fome and disperse the rest. And now the Donatists had the beloved clamour of all Schifmaticks to cry out Per-Y 4

fecution, only because some of them perish'd in a Tumult of their own raising. But it is no matter who began the fray, the People are to be incensed against the Catholiques with the Blood of their Party. And therefore what Tragical Stories do we ever after, from this flight Occasion, hear of the Macarian Times, as if this one Accident, by which they punish'd themselves, had exceeded the Cruelty of the Ten Persecutions. But in short, the Commissioners finding there was no Peace to be fettled in Africa, whilft Donatus and his Affociates remained in it, they fent them all into Banishment, and fo they continued till the time of Julian the Apostate; but in the mean time the Ring-leaders being removed out of the way, the People were foon at quiet, and betook themselves to to their Callings, and kept their Parish-Churches. And upon this a Council was called by Gratus Arch-Bishop of the Catholique Communion at Carthage, to give God thanks for their Deliverance, and to take care for the effectual fettlement of the Peace of the Church, that lasted till the Donarists broke loose under

Quib. succedens Juli- figning by all ways anus deserter Chrsti to destroy Christi-

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thought nothing fo & inimicus, Supplieffectual to that cantibus vestris Reend, as to encourage gatiano & Pontio, Schisms and Divi- libertatem parti Dofions, and deftroy nati permisit; denithe Discipline and que tunc reddidit Unity of the Church; Bafilicas Hæreticis. and therefore when quando Templa Dethis Schism was al- moniis: eo modo putans Christianum nomost extinguish by the care of Constan- men posse perire de tine and his Sons, terris, fi unitati Eche took as much clesia, de qua lapsus care by granting li- fuerat, invideret, & berty to the Dona- Sacrilegas dissensiotists to blow it up nes liberas esse perinto a greater flame. mitteret.

And yet they on the other fide were forward enough to prevent the Apostates Zeal, by presenting him with a stattering address, so that though the other day under Christian Emperours, their word was, Quid Imperatori cum Ecclessà? now under an Apostate, a mortal and avowed Enemy to Christianity, the whole Discipline of the Church is to be submitted to his disposal, and facrificed to his malice; and he accordingly finding what eager Zeal they had to disturb the Peace of the Church, gives them all the liberty that they can desire, and permits them to re-

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build their Conventicles, at the fame time that he opened the Idol Temples. and (as Optatus upbraids them ) let them and the Devil loofe together. And that is another ill quality of all Schismaticks. that they care not what becomes of the common Christianity, so the Faction thrives. This Rescript of Julian to the Donatifts is loft, but it feems it was fo very fcandalous, that the Emperour Honorius many years after, when he was resolved upon their Extirpation, caused it to be publisht in all places, to let the People see the baseness and perversness of the Faction. But they now finding that they had got the upper hand of the Catholiques, though by the malice of this Apostate Emperor, are not satisfied with their own liberty, but fall foul upon the Catholiques, and treat them with all manner of outrage and cruelty, pull down their Churches, murther their Priests at the Altar, overthrow the Altars themselves, and cast their Idolatrous Eucharist (as they call'd it) to the Dogs, dig the Catholiques out of their Graves, with many more outrages, that may be feen in Optatus his fecond and fixth Books. And so they go on to keep up the Faction by Tumults and Stories, and making challenges of Disputes, and then

then declining them, and the like methods of Schilm till the death of Donatus, about the year 368, and the fifth of

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To Donatus fucceeds Parmenianus, who publishes a vehement Book against the Catholicks, stuft with the old Fables of Fælix, Cæcilian, and the Macarian Perfecution; for as they first founded their Schism upon a Lye, so they resolv'd to continue it to the last, and perhaps by this time they were in good earnest. and had lyed fo long, till they at length believed themselves, or at least (as Optatus tells him ) they were utterly ignorant of the History of the Schism, and to that end he wrote his Books to rebuke all their wild Fictions by publick Records, and Imperial Rescripts. But to what purpose do you tell the Common People of legal Proceedings ? No Argument so prevalent with them, as a blind Story in a Corner, tagg'd with dirty Reflections upon the Government. And therefore notwithstanding all these checks, the Ring-leaders of the Faction Lye on, though we hear little of them till the tenth year of the fame Reign, Anno Domini 373, when Valentinian publisht a Rescript against their Re-baptising; which was renewed by Gratian four

four years after, in the year Three hundred Seventy feven.

6. V. The next news that we hear of them ( and it is very strange, that we heard it no fooner ) is, That they fall out among themselves, divide and subdivide into new Factions and Animosities. For upon the death of Parmenian they cannot agree upon a Successor, some are for Maximianus, and some for Primianus, and fo both being chosen, they divide Communions, make Decrees, and throw out Anathema's against each other, and which is most of all disingenuous, stir up the Civil Magistrate to put the fame Imperial Laws, that were made against themselves, in Execution against their Brethren: And what but tother day was Tyranny and Perfecution in the Catholicks, is in themselves Law and Justice. And so they go on to load one another with all the foul Stories and ill Language, that they were wont to beflow upon the Catholiques, and their Sentences of Excommunication are more fierce and heavy, than any that were ever denounced by any other party of Christians. Some were fatal, cutting off all power of Absolution: The most gentle were limited to a certain time, after

after which the Decree was irrecoverably pass'd upon them, and so they proceeded curling and damming each other, till every Sect spawn'd a new Litter of Vipers to eat out its own Bowels. And so they crumbled on, till they had made the Church no bigger than it was at first, a small grain of Mustard Seed: For every Party confind the Kingdom of Heaven to its Conventicle. This dividing humour of theirs is very well described by St. Austin. The Faction of

Donatus is crumbled into very small parcels, all which little particles condemn this much greater part of Primianus for allowing the Baptism of the Maximianists. And every part eagerly contends, that they alone retain the true Baptism, and that there is no other any where, neither in all the World , over which the Catholick Church is foread, nor in the larger nor

Pars Donati in multa minutiffima frusta conscissa est, quæ omnes minutæ particulæ hanc unam multo grandiorem, in qua Primianus est, de recepto Maximianistarum Baptifmo reprehendunt; & fingulæ conantur afferere, apud fe tantummodo verum baptifmum remanfiffe, nec om-nino effe alibi, neg; in toto Orbe Terrarum, quâ Ecclefia Catholica Catholica expandition the leffer parts of tur, nec in ipla grant the Faction of Dc diore parte Donati, natus, but in themnec in cæteris, præter fe unam, in mileast of all.

nutissimis partibus.

But as fierce as they were against each other, they were always one united Body against the Catholique Church, and upon all occasions of Disturbance or Sedition in the State, they were a form'd Body against the Government, as will appear by numberless Instances in the next Reign of Arcadius and Honorius. under whom they vented their utmost fury, and they on the other fide, refolved to quell and break them, and at last by strict Laws diligently executed, so took down their stomach, and their stubbornness, that the Faction dwindled into an inconsiderable rout, and was never able to attempt any disturbance either in Church or State. They being under no greater restraint in the time of Theodofus the Great, then the forfeiture of Ten Pounds, and the Execution of that Law being either stifled or hamper'd by the Emperors Officers, (that commonly divert fuch Mulcts to their own gain, and the damage of the Profecutor ) grew to bold in their out-rage against the Catholicks.

tholicks, as to offer violence to their Clergy at Divine Service, which infuf-ferable Indignity the young Emperors Arcadius and Honorius referred with that just indignation, as to publish a Refeript in the year 398, to Theodorus Pret pe spift. feet of Africk, requiring him to bring & Eccleft fuch Offenders to Capital Punishments, and if they at any time offer'd to make any Tumultuary refishance, not to stand upon forms of Law, but to fall upon them with the Military Power. And this Law, as fevere as it may appear, was but feafonable and indeed necessary, as St. Aust in tells the Donatists, when they complain of Severi-

cumcellians by their barbarous Cruelties and Outrages against us, made them neceffary for our own Security. For be-

ty. I'm have no De nobis ergo quod Epift. 68. reason to complain of queramini, non ha- ad Januar. us; for the Gentle- betis; etenim Ecnefs of the Catho- clefiæ Catholicas licks had always for- mansuetudo etiam born the Execution ab his Imperatorum of Juch Laws, bad justionibus omnino not your own Prea- conquieverat, nift chers with their Cir- vestri Clerici & Circumcellionesper fuas immanistimas improbitates, furiofasq; violentias quie tem noftram pertur bantes atque valtan

tes, hæc in vos refore those hate Laws; coli & moveri coegissent. Nam priusquam recentiores frica, they waylaid leges ista, de quibus modò querimini, venissent in Afritam, insidias in itineribus nostris Episcopis tetenderunt, conclericos nostros plagis immanissimis quassaverunt. Laicis

quassaverunt, Laicis quoque & plagas gravissimas inflixerunt, & intulerunt eorum Ædisiciis incen-

dia, &c.

With great numbers more of particular Out-rages, that he recites there, and up and down his other Writings, as the murther of Restitutus and Innoventius Presbyters of Hippo, putting out the Eyes of fome, cutting off the hands, and pulling out the Tongues of others. And as for St. Auffin himself, they continually watched for his life, and exhorted the People to kill him as they would a Wolf, to preserve the Flock, and assure them that God would forgive all their Sins, how great foever, for fo good a piece of Service. And this they did to him in requital of all his kindness towards them. who

who all alcaz interceded with the Governors to spare their lives, till at last being convinced by Experience that they abused all mercy, and would be reduced by nothing but the greatest Severity, he changed his mind, as he declares in his Epistle to Vincentius, in which he excellently discourses the necessary of the thing, that the Civil Magistrate should restrain the stubborn with Penal Laws.

About this time happened the War with Gildo the African Rebel, a Man infinitely Debauch'd, and barbarous in his Manners, and a bitter Enemy to Christianity; with him the Dangtift's and Circumcellians join, and ferve in his Rebellion against the Emperor, according to the constant practice of all Schisinaticks, whenever there is an opportunity to turn Rebels. And particularly there was one Optatus a Bishop, of the Party, to remarkable in the Army for fighting and forwardness, that he was furnamed Gildonianus, and after ten years Rebellion lost his life in the Service. But when Gildo was at length overcome, the Donatills bated nothing of their wonted infolence, and the Emperor Honorius (to whole particular Government Afrita appertained ) being incensed with continual complaints of their diforders,

Mail.

resolves by any severity to break the faction. And first he exposes their knavery to all the Christian World, by which he hoped at least to take down their confidence, and preserve the People from being any more deluded by their fair pretences. And therefore in the year 400 he sends forth the forementioned Decree to his Præsect in Africk, to be published in all places concerning the Transactions of the Donatists with Justice 1921, 11 June, and his Rescript on their behalf, that

thereby the World might fee the conflancy of the Catholicks to their Principles, and the falshood and treachery of the Donatiffs to their Religion. And this was done, either upon one or both of these Occasions, either as Baronius most probably thinks, that the Donatists persisting in their old Clamours, as Petiian had lately done, against the Catho-

Quid autem vobis est cum Regibus seculi, quos nunquam Christianitas nist invidos sensit.

against the Catholicks, For instigating the Civil Magistrate against them, who had nothing to do with the Church or Religion. Upon which pre-

tence, the Emperor thought good to rebuke their Confidence, by exposing their flatteries and foul tamperings with Ju-

lian,

han, and joining with an Apostate in his defign to overthrow Christianity. Or elfe, as Gothofred conjectures, Honorius enacting such severe Laws against the Donatists, they upbraided his Cruelty with the Clemency of Julian as if they found more mercy from Julian, though an Enemy, an Heathen, and an Apostate, than from a Christian and Cal tholick Prince. And therefore Honorius lets the World know the Mystery of the kindness between them and Julian, and by what base flattery, and dirty Arts, and dishonest Treachery they had infinuated themselves into his favour.

And the Year following the Church feem'd to imitate the Emperor's Design, of convincing them by meer shame, and reducing them by the foulness of their own Actions: for among divers other Methods proposed for the fettlement of the Church, this Device is at last pitcht upon; to fend to all the Judges and Governors of Provinces, who had the command and keeping of all publick Records, fric. cap that they would fearch out all the Acts, by 36. which the prevailing Party of the Donatists cut off the Maximinianists from their Communion, and after that restored them to it again. After which they fend Are-Y 2 baffadors

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balladors to the feveral Churches of the Donatists, to inform the People what a nothing it is that their Leaders have to fay against the Catholick Church; but chiefly to make it evident by all the Records of Court, how they treated the Maximinianists in their fub separation,

Ubi eisdivinitus de- they, will be pointed monstratur, fi at- eut, as it were by an tendere velint, tam Hand from Heaven, inique tunc illos ab that they first de-Ecclesia unitate parted from the Vpræcifos, quam ini- with of the Church, que nunc clamant à upon as unneasonable schisma fecisse: ex now clamor that quorum tamen nu- the Maximinianifts mero, quos jam ple- made a Schifm from narii Concilii fui themfelves Of whom Auctoritate damna- yet they have receivverant, in fuishono ed divers to Comribus denuo rece- munion without new perunt; et baptif Baptifm. That fo mum, vel quem they may fee bow abdamnati et exclusi furdly they appose dederant, accepta- the peace of the univerunt. Ut videant wenfal Church when quam stulto corde they do that for the rififtant paci Eccle- Pars Donati, withfix toto orbe diffuse, out thinking them-

of the fram whence fay Maximianistas Grounds, as they (elves

felves polluted by cum ifta faciant pro their Communion, for parte Donati; neque which they condemn fe istorum, quos ita us and the whole Ca- receperunt, compolluted by the Come tuitum pacis contathey have for a long nos condemnent, id time accused; but est, Ecclesiam Cacould never yet con- tholicam, etiam in

s you live

tholick Church, as munione propter inmunion of those that minari dicant: et vince of any Crime. extremis terrarum partibus constitu-

tam, per eorum communionem inquinatam, quos tunc accusantes, convincere nequiverunt.

And this was a choquing Argument, either that they ought not to have received the Maximinianists for peace fake, or that for the fame reason they ought to enter into a Treaty of Peace with the whole Christian World. And accordingly in a greater Council the year following, every Bishop is ordered to treat with the Leaders of the Donatifts in their own Diocefs: But all in vain, for they teturn them no other Answer, then Scorn and foul Language Such was their Pride and Petulancy, that it barr'd up their Minds against all Conviction: particularly Passidius undertaking Crispinus a leading Man of

of the Faction, after all his Pains is thrown off with this flight and haughty Answer. Hanc responsionem meam patriarchali fermone definio : Recedant à me impii, vias corum nosse nolo. 'This is my peremptory Answer to all your Talk, that the People of God ought not to have any Entercourfe, or enter into any Conference ' with the Wicked. And in stead of fair Proceedings, in a few days after they befet his House, break in upon him, and beat him, the Riot is taken notice of by the Pro-conful, and the Ring-leader fin'd ten Pounds, that yet was remitted at the Intercession of Possidius. But the Schifmatick is fo haughty, that he will not accept of the Kindness, and so appeals to the Emperors, and is by them condemned, as falling under the Law enacted by

De Herei- their Father Theodofius the Great, in the thing. 21. Year 392, against all Hereticks or Recufants of what Sect foever, that whoever of them gave or received Holy Orders, should be fin'd ten Pounds toties quoties, and wherever they kept a Conventicle, the house should be confiscated to the Emperor : but if the Owner of the House were not privy to it, that then the Tenant should be fin'd the ten Pounds, and if he were a Servant, or so poor that he could not pay it, he was to be Whipt and Tranf-

Transported. This Law was applyed by Honorius to the Donatists, which they pleaded was not intended against them. because they were only accounted Schifmaticks and not Hereticks. No, fays the Emperor, I and my Laws will allow of no fuch Tricks and Distinctions, whoever is divided from the Catholick Church. upon what Pretence foever, we are not concern'd to inquire, he is to us a Recufant and an Heretick, his Crime is not adhering to this or that Party, but his division from us. And though the Fathers of the Affrican Council interceded with the Emperor, that the Law might be applyed only to fuch Donatists, as were convicted of any actual Violence or Sedition, and that others, that were peacable, might not be punish't meerly for their Opinion. Yet the Emperor look't upon the very fiding with a feditious Party, to be Sedition it felf, and therefore Commands it to be strictly and univerfally put in Execution. Especially having been incensed by their late disorders in divers other Places, driving Bishops from their Sees, and particularly the horrible Murther of Maximian Bishop of Bagaia, and this fays St, Austin made our Intercession ineffectual. Jam enim lex fuerat promulgata ut tanta Immanitatis Hære-

Plarefis donatiftaram, cui crudelius parci videbatur, quam ipfa fæviebat, non tantum violenta esse, sed omnino esse, non sineretur impune. That is, because he had now resolved upon this Law, that a Sect of fo much Barbarity. whom to tolerate were a greater cruelty then the worst that they themselves could commit, should not only not be fuffer'd in their Violence but not be fuffer'd to be at all. But yet for all this, many of the Schismaticks persist in their Pride and Stubbornness, scorn to enter into any Conference with the wicked, and threaten the Catholicks with their lives, if they ever offer'd to undeceive their People. August. E. Recedite à plebibus nostris, fi non vultis

ut interficiamus vos. Either leave our pift. 166. People or your own Lives. But because

they rebaptifed all Converts to their Par-

ty, the Emperor resolved to bar up that passage, and therefore Enacts a Law against Rebaptifing under fo many and fo levere Penalties, as foon broke the whole Faction. viz. Forfeiture of Estate, Out-

lawry, Banishment, Incapacity of making a Will, or receiving a Legacy.
And frictly commands his Governors

and Officers every where to put it in fevere Execution under threatning of the feverest Penalties upon themselves. This

ftrong

Ne fanctum Baptisma iteretur. Leg. 4

frong Physick quickly purged away the il humour, and restored the Church after all its diffractions to a great measure of Peace and Unity. Informuch that great numbers of the Circumcellians them- Fris. 48. felves (as St. Auftin tells us) were reduced to Sobriety, and here it is that he professes that though hitherto he had been an enemy to all Penal Laws in matters of Religion, yet now he was quite baffled out of that Opinion, not fo much by Arguments as Examples, and particularly of his own City; that though it had been almost swallowed up with the Faction. yet it was now fo reduced to the Catholick Unity, by the fear of these Imperial Laws. that in a fhort time it so universally detested the Schism, as if it had never had any footing of entertainment there. How many (fays he) that were engaged in the Party by Education, and never confider'd upon what grounds they separated from the Church, being awakened by these Laws to examine into the Nature of the Schifm, found nothing of moment enough in it, for which they should expose themselves to so great Damages, these were without difficulty made Catholicks. How many that only followed the Authority of their Guides, and understood not the difference between the Church

Church and the Donatists: How many that had been abused with Stories and false Reports of the Catholicks; how many that thought it indifferent with which Party they fided, give God and the Emperor thanks for frighting them out of their soath and stupidity? And that (fays he) is the most proper use of Penal Laws to awaken men to a fight of their Error, in which they have been detain'd by meer carelesness or wantonness. and in all Schisms an affected Petulancy is ever the strongest Ingredient. And so things continued in a quiet posture till the death of Stiliche in the year 408, but upon that the Heathens and Donatifts (that were all along one Party against the Catholicks ) raise a Report that the Angell. Ep. Laws against them were made, and con-120 ad 0- trived, purely by the design of Stilicho, without the Emperors confent, and there-A Courtier fore as if their Authority had dyed toge-

whom he informs of ther with their Author, they break out the whole into their old Out-rages against the Ca-Bufineis. tholicks. Which coming to the Emperors De Hartti- knowledge, he immediately dispaches a is he. 43. Rescript to Curtius the Prefect of Rome, declaring that it was his Imperial Will

Limpium

Comitem.

that all the Laws against the Donatists, Heathens, and Hereticks fhould continue in full force, strictly requiring him and

all his Officers, to put them in effectual Execution. And this was followed by another Rescript to Donatus Prefect of Africe, who obey'd it with that rigour, that St. Aust in was forced out of his meer good nature to write to him to fpare their lives. Ex occasione terribilium Ju- 2018. 127. dicum ac legum ne æterni judicii pænas incidant, corrigi cos cupimus non necari, nec disciplinam circa eos negligi volumus, nec supplicies, quibus digni sunt exerceri. Sic ergo earum peccata compesce, ut fint quos paniteat peccavisse. Quasumus igitur ut cum Ecclesiæ causas audis, quamlibet nefariis injuriis appetitam vel afflictam ese cognoveris, potestatem occidendi te habere obliviscaris. 'Upon occasion of the dreadful Laws and Executions against them, we cannot but defire, left they should fall into everlasting punishment, that they may be chastised but not kill'd, that Discipline may be exercised upon them, but that they may not be punish't with the utmost Justice that they deferve, and therefore fo correct their fins, that they may not be past the State of Repentance. And we befeech you that when you hear the causes of the Church, though you will find it affaulted and oppressed with intolerable injuries, forget then that you have the power of

De bareticis legib. 45, 46.

life and death. But Still the Emperour proceeds with more vigour, and the year following injoins the ftrict Execution of these Laws to his Officers, and Judges. under fevere Penalties to themselves of loss of Place, Fines, and Banishment. with a farther referve of his displeasure. And here he comes fo close to the Schifmaticks, as not only to banish their Preachers, but every one that that but talk or dispute in behalf of the Schism. And fo by this means things continued quiet once more, till the Invasion of the Empire, and facking of Rome by the Gorbs, when Arralus fent an Army against Heraction the Præfect for the Conquest of Africa, and if he had Succeeded in it, he had been compleat Master of the Western Empire. In this streight, either for fear that they should join with the Enemy, or because they grew insolent in their demands, as they did to Confrantine in the time of the Licinian War, the Emperor grants them liberty of Confcience for forme time. But being quit of the danger by the speedy Overthrow of the Goebs in Africk, he immediately dispatches a Rescript at the Request of the African Fathers, who were already highly fentible of the mifchiefs of this,

De hereticis, l. 51. Liberty, to the fame Proconful to reverse his his former Decree, that had been extorted from him by the necessity of the times, and now probably being afresh incensed by their fawcy behaviour in his affliction, makes the Schism it self Capital, or to be punished pand & prosperitionis & sanguinist. For before this time none were to be put to death, but those that had deserved it by their Fulmults, Disorders, and Insurrections, but now the very frequenting their Meetings was forbidden under no less Penalty.

6. V. L. But being now refolved to . but an end to the trouble that they had given him from the beginning of his Reign, he refolved in the first place to try if it were possible to do any good upon them, by a friendly Conference. which (as himself says) he did by the perswafion of the African Bishops, and it was chiefly devised by St. Auftin to undeceive the People. For their Leaders still perfished to abuse them with old Tales and Stories, notwithstanding that they had been fo fhamefully exposed an hundred years fince; but that was beyond the memory, and by confequence the knowledge of the Penple, and therefore St. Auftin concluded that

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that the most effectual way to reduce them, was to let the People know what was done in Constantine's time, in the Synods of Rome, and Arles, and before the Emperour himself at Milan, and the shameful discoveries of their Forgeries about Cacilian and Falix of Aptung, by Ingentius the Notary, and Nundinarius the Deacon. And this he doubted not would make them see through the whole Cheat, that had been put upon them from the beginning; and forever expose the impudence and dishonesty of their August lib. Leaders. Quod verò ante centum fermè annos Majores nostri cum its [Donatistis] Fuli anum: egerant, jam populorum memoria non tenebat; bæc igitur necessitas compulit; at faltem Gestis nostrà Collatione confectis, eorum contunderemus inverecundiam, & reprimeremus Audaciam. " Seeing it was

"beyond the memory of the People, "what was transacted almost an hun-"dred years finee with the Schifma-"ticks; necessity compelled us, that

3, contra

" producing the matters of Fact at our "Conference, we should rebuke their " strange boldness and immodesty. To this purpose Marcellinus, a Man eminent

both for Wifdom.

Non Divini magis Learning, and Piequam bumani juris ty, and the fame to whom whom St. Austin peritus. v. more of dedicates his Books his Character in De Civitate Dei, Baldwin's Hist. Colthough a Secular lat. Carthag.

Judge, is fent into

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Africa with a Commission to preside at the Conference, and that he might do, by the Laws and Custom of the Church. because the Controversie was not about either a matter of Faith, or rule of Difcipline, but only a matter of Fact. Neither had he the Office of a Judge about that, so much as an Inquisitor; but was by his Commission only to Examine the publick Records, and that was all that he undertook and perform'd. In March in the year 411. he Summons both Parties to meet at Carthage in the June following, and grants to all Donatiffs, that would obey his Summons, the free use of their Churches, and provides all things necessary or useful for their Journey. The whole number of Donatist Bishops, in all 159, enter Carthage in a full Body, with all the shews of Pomp and Ostentation, and this being their full strength at that time, it flews how their Party had fhrivel'd away under this Emperor's Laws against them. For in their Council at Bagaia, where the Maximinianists were condemn'd by the

the other Donatists, were prefent four hundred and fixty Bishops, and yet now all their Force cannot make a third part of that number. But when they came to Cartbage, they would not meet in the ufual house of Convocation, that they call'd the Synagogue of Satan, and therefore met in the Gargilian Baths. And before they enter'd upon the Conference. the Catholicks endeavour to Court them with all manner of Civility and Condefcention, if by any means to prevail upon them, to have some sense of the Peace and Unity of the Christian Church But all in vain, they were resolved to perfift in their Peevillaness, and therefore when they came together, inflead of fair and ingenuous Discourse, they only endeavoured to fpin out time with trifling and pettifogging Tricks. For whereas the Catholiques first propounded for quicker difpatch to feparate the particular matter of Fact, concerning Cacilian's being Ordain'd by a Traditor from the general matter of Right, concerning their present Separation from the Church. Because that was only Perfonal, and carried nothing in it that concern'd the cause of the Church it self. at fo great a distance of itime ; and therefore they would freely grant, tho nothing

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nothing could be more falle, that Cacilian and Falix were guilty of all their Indictment : But that being granted, they affirm'd that it was no fufficient reason for them at that time of the day, to separate themselves from the Cany years palt Communicated with them. But the Donatists resolve to insist upon the old Nags-head-story, and wholly baulk the matter of Right; for here the knew that they could wrangle and amuse the People, and this was not only their standing Artifice, but as Baldwin obferves, 'tis the last shift of all Schismatiques, when they are baffed, to throw dirt. So Petilian served St. Austin; fo the Pelagians; fo the Manichees; but he would not be drawn from his Cause by fuch foolish divertisements, and still anfwer'd them all, Quod ad mores noftros Lib. 2. pertinet, quemadmodum vivamus in prompi contra gutu est eis, cum quibus vivimus, nunc de Catholico agitur Dogmate, &c. 'As for my Life and Conversation, it is known to those with whom I live, but our business is about Christian Truth; that is the cause, not I; if you have any thing against me, in God's Name Indict me according to Law, but otherwife it is a base and helpless shift, when you

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are Convicted by Argument, to be-take your felves to idle Tales and Slanders, for that is the last Machine of all Hereticks. And therefore 'tis no wonder that the Schismaticks stuck fo long at this point, for to Persons of that Kidney, Calumny is much dearer then their Opinion. And it was a long while before Marcellinus with all his Art and Temper, could bring them out of this Hold, but being at last forced out of it, they in the next place wrangle about matters, that they pleaded ought to be preliminary to the Conference: And first they cavill'd and excepted against the time, viz. That the time limited by the Emperour's Summons was past; to which cavil they are Answer'd, That the Meeting was adjourn'd to the present time by their own Confent. Then they except against Marcel linus, and the Form of proceeding, viz That Ecclesiastical matters ought not to be determin'd after the manner of the Secular Courts, but by the Holy Scriptures. To this Marcellinus replies, both that he does not take upon himself the Office of a Judge, and withal that thinks should be determin'd by the Rule of Scripture as they defired. And belide this the Catholick Bilhops fatisfic them

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by exhibiting the Injunctions, that they had given to those Bishops, that were to manage the Conference, that they had taken sufficient care of that matter. But then this the Donatifts turn'd into a new Cavil, that they would not trust their Cause to a sew Mens management, but would be all Speakers, which they knew could not be done in fo great a Multitude, without turning the whole bufiness into Tumult and Confusion. And therefore it is with much ado over-ruled. that Seven of each Party fliould manage the Conference, of whom St. Aultin and Petilian were the chief of each fide. But in the next place the Mandate of the Catholicks to their Commissioners being figned by 286 Bishops, the Donatifts oblect that there were not fo many prefent, and pretend that to encrease the number they had fet down false names. and therefore require that every Bishop thould answer to his own name. all this trifling being at last past through Marcellinus with Hat an hand, defires the Company that they would be pleased to take their Seats, but the Donatifts infolently refuse his Civility, grumbling out among therifelves that of the Pfalmift, Odi Ecclefiam Malignantium & cum impiis not fedebe. Then the luftrument of 7 2

of the Donatists to their Commissioners is read, which confifts all of Accusation against the Catholiques, both as Traditors and Perfecutors; and here they are immediately fnapt in their own Snare. having fubscribed many Names to it of Men that were not in Being, and among the rest of one, that upon the discovery they now pretended dyed on the way. though before they had declared, that it was drawn up after they came to Carthage, and that was all the Event of the first days Conference, that they enfnared themselves in two or three grand Falshoods. The second Conference was fpent in the fame trifles and cavils with the first, and so came to nothing. But at the third Meeting Marcellinus keeps them close to the roint, and after long strugling and much patience with them, causes all the Records relating to the whole matter to be read, especially concerning the Cause of Cacilian and Falix of Aptung. And here the Donatifts were quite undone at the first shock, and had no thift to escape, only to the Absolution of Cacilian by Melchiades they have the Impudence now to fay, that Melchiades himself was a Traditor . Which as it was a new lye invented at lo great a dillance of time, to was it utterly groundless.

less, and without any pretence of Authority then only their own Report, and therefore could not pass. In short, the Schismaticks having nothing to except against the unquestionable Evidence of publick Records, but repeating the fame Cavils and Calumnies, the Verdict is given against them, and themselves are brought to fubscribe the truth of all the Acts of the Conference, as we now have them, which otherwise they would afterward have pleaded to be falle, fo that they had now no flift left but their old one, to complain of the Partiality of Marcellinus. Unless it were to Appeal from the Emperor ( to whom themselves first appealed ) to the Scriptures. Thus upon this flameful overthrow Primianus a chief Man among them cryes out, Illi portant multorum Imperatorum Sacras, nos fola portamus Evangelia. And they were then the two Tribes that continued Loyal to the true Religion, whilst the Catholicks, by whom they were fo much over-voted, were the other Ten Tribes that followed Feroboam into his Idolatry. But fo it was that things were managed with that clearness of Conviction, that though the Ring-leaders went on in their old stubbornness, yet the greatest part of the People, hereby under-**Standing** Z 3

Cantragan standing the true merits of the Cause, dentium, is forfook them forever; and as St. Austin.

fays, great Numbers of the Circumcellians return'd to their Callings and Parish Churches, and as for the Number of the more fober People of all States and Conditions that were reduced, he fays it was fo great that it was not to be numbred. And to fettle the business more effectually St. Austin prevails with Marcellinus to publish the Acts of the Conference, the truth whereof was fubi scribed by both Parties, that all the World after that might be fatisfied of the foulness and disingenuity of the Schismaticks: And then the African Bithops agree among themselves for keeping up the memory of the thing fresh against them, to have them publickly read in all Churches on the last Sunday in Lent. And because the Acts themfelves were too long for the People, St. Austin drew up his Breviculum for that nfe.

Upon this great overthrow the Emperor refolves to push on the Victory, and immediately publisht fuch a sovere Rescript against the Party; that soon broke their. Obstinacy and vanquish the Schilm, strictly commanding them to return to the Catholick Church, first unden

De Hartt. 4 52.

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der the Penalty of an high Fine according to every mans Estate and Quality; Secondly, Inflicting the same punishments upon all Persons that should conceal them; Thirdly, Requiring all diligence in all Officers to discover them: Fourthly. If notwithstanding they continued stubborn, all their Goods were to be feized and fold. Fifthly, All Landlords and Masters are to see that their Servants. and Tenants conform to the Catholick Church under the fame Penalties. Sixthly. All their Preachers are to be banisht into distant places. Clerici vero ministrique corum ac perniciofissimi sacerdotales ablati de Africano solo, quod ritu sacrilego polluerunt, in exilium viritim ad fingulas quasque regiones sub idoned prosecutione mittantar. And laftly, Their Churches and all Profits and Revenues belonging to them, are to be delivered up to the Catholicks. Here are all the feverities that can be inflicted except death it felf, for though the Emperor had threatned them with that immediately after his Conquest of the Barbarians, upon some rude Provocation, that they had given him in his diffress, yet now in his cooler and more deliberate thoughts, he refolves to spare their blood, but resolves to spare nothing elfe. And what milder courfe Z 4

could be taken with fuch men, that out of meer extravagance, and wantonness, had put off all fense of their natural humanity. And so upon this, those few that would not be reduced, betook themfelves to the Fields and the Woods, and wandred up and down the Country in Arm'd Troops, doing all manner of mifchief and violence in all places, usually having one of their Teachers for the Captain of each Rout, fuch an one was Macrobius one of their Bishops, that St. Austin fays, roved up and down in his Neighbourhood, Stipatus cuneis perditorum utriusque sexus, guarded or followed with Troops of desperate People of both Sexes.

But it hap ned that the year following, Heraclian, the Emperor's Vice-Roy in Africk that had done the good service to Conquer the Gaths, breaks out into Rebellion, and Invades Italy with the greatest Navy that perhaps ever was, consisting of 3700 Ships, whereas Kerxes his so samed Navy had no more then 1200. But he being surprised and overthrown by Marinus at his sirst landing, and by him pursued into Africk, the Donatists inform Marinus at his very first coming, that Marcellinus was one of those that had sided with Heraclian in the Rebelling.

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on, him therefore in his rage, or hast, or upon some worse account he puts to Quem Marinus, indeath among the certum an zelo stiother Rebels, upon mulatus, an auro corwhich instead of a ruptus, occidit. OTTiumph for so ros lib. 7.

great a Victory, he

is immediately commanded home, put out of all employment, banisht the Emperor's presence, and only not put to death because of his late great service. Now the design of these wicked Donatills in murthering Marcellinus was not only to be revenged of him for his acting in the Conference, but to kill the credit of his Ads, because all the Ads of Rebels were by the Roman Law null and void, and therefore as the Emperor had already null'd the Acts of Heraclian upon his Re-bellion, so they hoped that the Acts of Marcellinus who was in the fame cafe should undergo the same Fate. But the Emperor on the contrary writes to Julia- De Haret. nus his Pro-Conful, to lay them carefully 1. 55. up among the publick Records, that they might be fecure from being ever imbezel'd, and not only fo, but he renews his former fevere Law with the addition of fome new Penalties, and, more then that, Ibid. 1. 54. though he had damn'd all the other Acts

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of Government under Heraclian, fuch was his just fury against these treacherous and bloody Saints, that he renews the that he had fent in his rage to Heraclian in the year 311, and that is the reason why this Law bears Heraclian's name. though it were not publisht till after his death. Though it was never put in Execution, but the other of banishing the Preachers was vigoroully profecuted, and the Emperor fent Dulcitius into Africa with a new Office for that very purpole, viz. Of Executor of the Rescript against the Donatists, that was his whole and fole Commission. And he pursued it so effectually, that about thirty of their Leaders finding that there was no way left of being conceal'd, and refolving neither to quit their Churches nor go into Banishment, agree to murther themselves and fo dye Martyrs, and fome of them burnt themselves with that mad resolution. as put Dulcitius to a fland, who therefore out of meer tenderness writes to St. Austin to know what he would advise him to do with such desperate people. shough he had ever been importunate to fave their lives, now returns this frank Answer, That it is no great matter if the small handfull of Banditi, who put the whole

whole Would into diforder, perifh by their own hands, and when they are gone, the World will be at quiet. And to ended this boilterous Schifm that had wasted the Church of Africa, for more then an hundred years. For Baldwin and Baronius place the Ordination of Chaplain Majorinus, from whence the Schifm commences, in the year 306, but Valefies more truely in the year 317, and it was in the year 414, in which they are rooted out of Africk by Dulcirius. And though fome finall featterings of it contimed many years after, even to the time of Gregory the Great, as we find by fome of his Epiftles, which was near 200 years after this time, yet after this time it was never confiderable, and we hear very little of them, either in the Records of the Church or the Imperial Laws. They are but once mentioned in a Law of Theabifus the next Emperour, but then it is ina List of the whole Rout of Hereticks that ever were, in which the fame Penalties are inflicted upon all, that were Executed by Honorius against the Donatists. And it is observable that the Imperial Laws ever after followed the fame method, being convinced of its necessity by the experience of the thing it felf, to that though the Coercive Power of the Prince

Prince in abetting the Church had been own'd and used all along, yet it feems not to have been throughly understood till after this experiment of I fonerius up on the Donatifts. And thus have I thewin in this one Infrance the natural Progress of Schifm. How little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump, fo that a National Madness may be no more authoriom then Malt-house Conspiracyd thirty or form ill-naturidymen put all Africk into a di fraction for above one hundred years and when they were removed out of the way; those many thousands that were drawn in to follow their Drenzy, were re-Gored to their natural femfe and fobriety Southat if as fmall a number as those few, that were for desperate as to destroy themselves at last, had been banishe at first all that trouble that this Schiffer gave the Empire, bad been certainly brea vented, and that is all that any Prince can gain by his kindness to fuch hen that if he will not punishethem at first they themselves will force! him to do it as enced by Honorins equinft the Donat. flat And it is observable that the Imperial

6. VII. As for the Arian Controverse, though it were at first but a private dispute in the School of Alexandria (that was then the only Christian University

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in the World ) yet it foon over-run the whole body of the Christian Church vif we may believe St. Jerom, who speaks thus of it, Antus in Abexandria una fcin Ad Galit. tilla fuit, fed quia non fratim oppressa esta 14. totum Orbem ejus flamma populara eft!. And indeed it spread to suddainly that its motion was not so much like Fire as Lightning, all the World was all in a flame in an inftant, Kai ananteras and L 1. c. 6. from which and the like passages Sandius clif. Leaccording to his usual duliness and inge-p. 7. nuity infers, that the whole World was become Arian, and indeed St. Ferom. gives forhe countenance to it, by his lavish, expression of totus orbis; but he is so full of his whole Worlds every where, as proves nothing more then that he was very much taken with the Grandeur of the Phrase, neither does he apply it to the Reign of Constantine (as this ignorant pretender to History does ) but of Conflantius; what strength it then had, we shall see when we come to that time, but under the Reign of Constantine, as great. Commotions as it occasion'd in the Christian Church, it spread not much farther then some few of the Clorgy beside Women, of the Church of Alexandria, as will appear by the Progress of the Story,

which

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which runs in order after this manner, Arius and his Complices were upon Conviction Canonically proceeded against and caft out of the Church by their Meand the tropolitan and Provincial Synoti, not on-4.1.4.ly for the Herefie of their Opinion, but the foundal and loofeness of their lives. as himself informs us in his Epistle to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, and befide his Epiftles to divers particular Bishops, he fignified the Excommunication of the Arians by an encyclical Epille to all the Bishops of the Catholick Church, in the beginning whereof he excellently describes that Unity of Discipline that was then preferv'd in it. Where as we are taught in the Holy Scriptures that the Body of the Catholick Church is one, that thereby we may keep the bond of Peace and Concord the more firthly, it is but agreeable to this that we should communicate with one and ther by Letters, that all may know what is done by every one, that fo we may all fuffer and rejoyce together. By which last Phrase the Ancients usually expressed the agreement of Discipline in all Churches, in allufion to St. Paul's expression to the Church of Corinth in the Case of their incestuous Offenders. This was the Cuftom of all Churches at that time:

time, though that dull Fanatique Arian Lib. 2.7. Sandins represents it as done out of meer. 14. design and artifice to asswage the known displeasure of divers Bishops both against himself and his Opinion, and not out of any regard to the Rules of Ecclefishical Discipline of which this flovenly Historian feems to have had no fenfe or knowledge. But this being done, Arius instead of submitting to his Ordinary, as he ought to have done by the Laws of the Church. or appealing at least to a greater Council for relief against abuse of Discipline, helters himself under the Patronage of a Great and Powerful Prelate at that time. Enfebius of Nicomedia, who contrary to all the Laws of the Church, immediately receives him into Communion, which by no means he ought to have done, though Arius had been wronged. For if that liberty be once admitted in any Case, it breaks down the Bounds, of all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and therefore an Appeal from one Provincial Synod to as nother was never allowed of in the Primitive Church, but in Cases of Grievance the only Appeal that lay was to greater Synods composed out of several Provinces; fo that when Arius took Sanctuary under Eufebiue, and he protected him against the Centure of his own Metropos

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trolled and cancell'd the Acts of another

Bishop against his own Presbyter, and endeavour'd to engage the Approbation of the whole Church to his irregular actings, that was apparently fetting, up an open Schism in the Christian Church. And fo Alexander represents it in his encyclical Epistle, and loads Eusebius with the violation of the Apostolical Canon, viz. the 33d, which injoyns that no Clergy-man Excommunicate by his own Bishop, be received to Communion by another. But Eusebius, being a man of a proud Spirit, regards it not ( neither was this his first breach of the Canons, having skipt out of one Bishoprick into another, which is there severely forbidden, and he was the first man, that I know of, who was guilty of that boldness against that Sacred Law of the Church ) but instead of defifting from his Schifmatical proceedings, endeavours to spread the Schism as far as he could, and his Letters fly abroad every where to engage the Bishops to his Fa-Ction, by which means, he being then a great Man and a Favourite of the Emperour, the Court then residing at Nicome dia, all the Bishops in the World were in a moment engaged on one fide or o ther ( not upon the account of Arius) bur

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but Eufebius whose Pride and Ambition was the only cause of all this confusion this so alarms Constantine, that he difpatches away his great Favourite Ofius of Corduba with his Letters to Alexandria,if it were possible to allay the heats of both Parties. Though Baronius is very earnest in its that Ohus was first fent by Pope Ad and Silvester, as his Legate into the East, 318. N.88. to Constantine, by whom he was arm'd Md an. 319 with Letters to Alexandria, where he wrought great wonders by vertue of his Legantine Authority. And in this the Cardinal is very vehement, and often repeats it with extraordinary affurance. though there is not the least intimation of it in all the ancient Historians, who make not any mention of the Pope in all this bufiness, but impute the whole transaction to Constantine's own care and management. Now the Scope of the Emperors Letters was to perswade and exhort them wholly to lay afide the Controversie as nice, and unnecessary, and not of weight enough to deferve a determination. Though as Sandius tells the flory, the Page 16: Emperour lays the blame of all upon the Bishop, but this not only without any Authority, but against the express words of the Letter, that equally blames them both for their too much curiofity about a

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vain Question, as he calls it. And as for the Letter it felf I shrewdly suspect it to have been the contrivance of Eulebius of Nicomedia, who was very intimate with the Emperour, and impos'd upon him all along in this whole Affair. I am fure the Scope of the Letter is exactly agreeable with Eulebius his whole carriage in this Controversie, which was not to have it determin'd either way, but only filenced as an over curious speculation. I know indeed that he is on all hands reprefented as a Ring-leader of the Arian Faction, but it is a mistake that has brought confufion upon the whole History, and made the Arian Herefie feem of a much greater extent then it ever was, whereas Eulebius and his Party were no less Enemies to the Arians then to the Orthodox, and yet it was they that all along made the greatest shew and noise in the Contest. And as for the Arian Faction it was wholly supprest by the Nicene Council, and all the Tumults that were made after that, are owing to the Eusebians, who were as forward as the Orthodox to anathematize the Arians, but then they must have the Decree of the Nicene Council reverst, and what work they made about it we shall see when we come to the Reign of Constantius, all whose Perie(355)

Perfecutions of the Catholicks were meerly raised by these mens wise indiscretion. and had it not been for their unseasonable tampering, prudence, and moderation, the Arian Herefie could never have lift up its head more after the Nicene Council. But to return to Constantine, who finding the Contest too hot at Alexandria to be allayed by the mediation of Hofius, and withal the flame too far foread into other Churches to be quench't by one mans industry, he resolves upon a General Council to compose this and some other spreading Controversies, particularly that concerning the time of Easter, which though it had flept ever fince Pope Victor, began now to raise new heats in feveral parts of Christendom.

The Council being met at the time and place appointed, he entertains them with an Oration exhorting to Peace and Unity, but neither prescribes nor commands any thing, only desires them to examine things impartially, and by their Authoritative determination of the present Controversies, to settle the Peace of the Church forever, as appears not only from the Tenour of the Speech it self, and the Emperours behaviour in the Epist. 32. Council, but from the challenge of St. 24 Valents

Ambrose to Valentinian, si conferendum de A a z side. fide, Sacerdotum debet effe ifta collitio, ficut factum est sub Constantino augusta memoriæ principe, qui nullas leges ante præmifit, sed liberum dedit judicium Sa-'If there be a confultation acerdotibus. bout the Faith, that is the work of the 'Priesthood, as it was managed under the 'Emperor Constantine of Glorious Memo-' ry, who prescribed no Laws beforehand, but allowed freedom of judgment to the Bishops. And the Council being fairly left to the free use of that Authority, that they had received from our Saviour, proceeded as fairly in the Exercise of it. And in the first place, The Acts of the

Athanas. Apol. 2.

Council at Alexandria against Arius are produced, and the interpolition of Eulebius in his behalf inquired into. whereby it appear'd which fide had acted according to the Laws of the Church, and the Arians are, after a fair hearing, with very little Debate condemn'd by the Unanimous Vote of the Council,

Athanaf. Ep. contra

though Sandius affirms, from no Autho-Her. Arian. rity but his own, that they would not fo much as hear Arius his Arguments, much less Examine them. But though the Council agreed in the Subscription to the Orthodox Faith, yet the Eufebians for a time refused to subscribe to the

Soc. I. I. c. 14.

Anathema against the Arians, because they

they did not think them fo bad as they were represented. But here again our hopest Arian Histori grapher tells us sand 1.2. from Eutychius and other Oriental Mo- p. 20. numents, i. e. Modern and Barbarous Arabick Pamphlets, that there were above 2000 Bishops present at the Council, and that all exceptingonly 318 (which was the full number of the Council according to all the true Records) voted for Arius, but that Constantine himself over-ruled the whole business by violence and force of Arms. And then whereas the Emperor to abet the Decree of the Council, commands the Arian Books to be burnt, and especially Arius his Thaleia, upon pain of death; and banish't some of the Arians into Il- 1. 2. p. 29. liricum; this Sandius is not ashamed to fay was done by the Authority of the Council it felf and withal that the Bifhops perswaded the Emperor, who but iust now over-awed them by force of Arms, to refign his Empire (filly wretch as he was!) into their hands, and lay down his Sword at their Feet, and that they return'd it back to him only up-on condition to defend their Faith. The Council being ended, the Emperour writes to feveral Churches, particularly that of Alexandria, to submit to the de-Aa 3 ter-

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termination of the Council, because the unanimous Decree of fo many Bishops, could be no less then the Judgment of God himself, in that it cannot be doubted but that the Concord of fo many Holy Men was the immediate effect of Divine Inspiration, o & wis resamorious ที่คุยสะท ' Етпо พ่อ สเเร, ชิงิย์ท อัฐเท อัสเอยท, ที่ สซี (อิยิชิ γνώμη, μάλισα γε όπε το άγιον πνεύμα, ποίστων κή πηλικέτων ανδρών παις διανόιαις εγκάμενον, τ Θάαν βέληση έξεφώτησε. And thus had this prophane Heresie been for ever quell'd by the Authority of this Council, had it not been supported by the pretended moderation of the Eusebians, and their various carriage in the Debate is the most observable thing in all the Transactions of this Council. whole Controversie was reduced to the word Consubstantial, which the Eusebians at first refused to admit, as being no Scripture Word, but without its admiffion nothing elfe would fatisfie the Council, and good reason they had for it, because to part with that Word after the Controversie was once raised, would have been to give up the cause; for it was unavoidable, that if the Son were not of the same Substance with the Father, he must have been made out of the fame Common and Created Sub**ftance** 

Soc. L. 1.

flance with all other Creatures, and therefore when the Scriptues give him a greater Dignity of Nature then to any created Being, they thereby make him of the same uncreated Substance with the Father, fo that they plainly affert his Consubstantiality, though they use not the Word. But when the Truth it felf was denyed by the Arian Hereticks, and the Son of God thrust down into the rank of created Beings, and defined to be a Creature made out of nothing, κπομα κ ποιήμα έξ εκ όντων, whence they were call'd egunorioi, it was time for the Church to stop this Herefie, by such a Test as would admit of no Prevarication, which was effectually done by this word, and as cunning and shufling as the Arians were, they were never able to fwallow or chew it, and therefore it was but a weak part of the Eusebians to shew fo much Zeal against the word, when they professed to allow the thing; for if our Saviour were not a meer Creature, he must be of the same uncreated substance with the Father, because there is no middle between created and uncreated Substance; fo that whoever denyed his Consubstantiality could not avoid the Heresie of Paulus Samosatenus, which yet the Arians themselves professed to Aa4 defie,

defie, for if he were a meer Creature, it is no matter how foon or how late he was created. And therefore Eufebius of Cefarea, a wife and understanding Man foon difcern'd the folly of this Scruple, for though he at first opposed the word Consubstantial in the Council. and tendred a Creed without it, yet upon farther confideration he eafily embraced it, because as himself gives an account of it to his Diocess, it fignifies the fame thing as to fay, that he is of the Father, which the Orthodox Doctrine teaches, अध्यक्षमार्थं रहे संग्या मार् ज्या नां ने ομοβοπον, το μποεμίαν εμφέρειαν προς τα γένητα κτίσματα τ ύιον το Θεά εμφάινειν μόνω δε τω πατεί τω γρηρεννημότι καταπάνσα τρόπον αφομιωωα, κ μπ हैं) εξ έπερας मारे रेक osa o Ews में अंगार्थs, बेभे हेर नह मबाहर .. And therefore he declares that he freely subscribed to it, not only for Peace fake, but that he might not incur the scandal of Heresie. And as for the Anathema's against Arius, he fays, that he readily subscribed them, because they were but a just Sentence against his Prophane Novelties, without any Authority from the Scriptures, from whence proceed all the disturbances of the Church, s feeing therefore no Scripture uses such exor pressions; as to eg en ovter, and to me more OTE

one in hir, it is by no means allowable that such expressions should be used or taught. And so concludes, I thought fit to give you this account, that you might understand with what judgment I first doubted, and then consented; for though I was at first offended at some words. yet when I had impartially weighed their true meaning, I found that they agreed exactly with those expressions that I used in my own Confession of Faith. This is a rational and confiftent account of his whole behaviour; for when he had once faid in his Creed, That the Son was God of God, 'tis the fame thing, as if he had faid, that he was of the same Substance with the Father. And yet notwithstanding this fair and ingenuous Confession of Eusebius, and his more full Declaration of his real fense and meaning in his Books against Marcellus, with what an unanimous Vote, both of Ancients and Moderns, is he condemned as a Ring-leader of the Arian Heresie. as St. Ferom rashly stiles him? But he can spare no Man a good word, that had any kindness for Origen, and that was the ground of his displeasure against Eusebins; I confess that he never could heartily like the word ourons, because it being a new word, and not found in Scrip-

Scripture, it gave the Arians advantage of exception against the old Truth, yet he always declared as expresly against the Arian Affertions, as Athanafins himfelf. But of all Writers those of the Church of Rome are most implacable to his Memory, for what reason I cannot imagine, unless it be that his plain account of the true State and Polity of the Primitive Church is fo irreconcileable with the present Grandeur and Power of their Church. As for the unkind usage he has met with from Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, and fuch like Writers, it is not to be wondred at, because they treat all other Authors and Records after the same Rate, that do not fuit their turn, fo that they are more offended with him as an Historian, then as an Heretick, and Baronius cannot forbear blabbing out the true ground of his displeasure against him, in that he too much betrayed that he bore no good Will to the See Apostolick. But as for Petavius, a Man of a more free and impartial enquiry, who does not make it his business, as they do, to force the Ancient Records of the Church to comply with its prefent State, but takes things as he finds them; for him, I fay, to handle this great Man more roughly then the

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the Italian Parafites, looks like an unkindness without Provocation. He has De Trinitataken great pains to prove this by divers to 11, 12. loofer Passages out of his Books written before the Nicene Council, which is by no means ingenuous, because himself has confessed, That he was not aware of the ill confequences of his own Notions, till the Debates of the Council discovered them to him, and as for the Passages that he has raked together out of the Books against Marcellus, I cannot find that any of them reach his purpose, and if any look towards Arianism, they are at worst but unwary expressions, when the whole defign of those Books is levell'd against the Heresie; and it is very hard when he has there fo often declared against the great Arian Affertions, especially of the to of sx ortwr, which is the Sum of all that Herefie, that he should be charged not only for an Heretick, but a Prevaricator. Though the hardest piece of disingenuity is his turning Eusebius his ingenuous confession into guile and falshood, but with what justice or candor I dare leave the Reader to judge from the words themselves, as I have ofted them above, that give, as far as I can difcern, as prudent and rational account of the true State of the ControControversie, as any that we have upon Record. But *Petavius* has met with his own Measure, for after all the pains that he has taken against the *Arian* Heresie, he stands vehemently suspected of Treachery to his own Undertaking. Sandius is very proud of his company, and lays no small stress upon the assistance of his Authority. And though this Rhan.

Hift. Eccles. of his Authority. And though this Rhap-1. 1. p.217, fodist, whoever he was, was apparently 218. 01. a thing of no judgment, yet others that 2. p. 19. He brages want not understanding complain, That vius in l.1. he has done the Doctrine of the Trinity c. 6. S. s. no great kindness by his defence of it, calls all the but has betrayed the constant Tradition Fathers of this Council of the Church about it; and it is what I dunces and have often heard objected by some that fools, tho would be learned Men in common Difthere is no course, though upon what ground I can-Such thing in the place not devise, unless it be that some Men queted.

pass their censures upon Books only by skimming over Indexes and Contents of Chapters, instead of perusing the Books themselves; for I am sure no Man that has Examin'd Petavius his performance upon this Argument, can ever suspect him of a design to betray his cause, that he has desended with so much Judgment, Learning, and Industry; but so it is, that some Body turning over the heads of the Chapters, finds a Catalogue

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talogue of Fathers before the Council of Nice, that held different Opinions from the Catholique Rule, Saltem loquendi ulu (as he speaks, ) from thence it is shrewdly infinuated that he leaves them under suspition of Arianism, which is so far from being true, that he had beforehand cleared them from all fuch suspition as to the fubstance of the Doctrine. and proved the constant Tradition of it through all Ages of the Church from the Apostles. And furns up his Evidence of the whole matter in this one politive Affertion. Omnes in eo Scriptores illi Prafat. conventunt ; effe unum Deum, unumg; Dei- 6.6. tatem : non autem plures Deos aut Deitates. Deinde tres effe, qui Divinitatem illam babent; quiq; fingula qua nomen ipsum obtinent Dei, qua proprietates, & ut Greci Philofophi nominant, ramiephuaru, que nulli alteri, quam foli ac vere proprieque dicto Deo tribuuntur. Sic in eo rurfus congruunt, ut unum de tribus fontem, & originem cæterorum constituant; cumque patrem nuncupent illius, qui proxime ab hot numeratur, appellaturg; filius, qui & genitus ab illo dicitur ; ac tum Deus est, tum homo pro Nativitate duplici: quarum una seculis est anterior omnibus ab solo patre Deo : Altera in tempore, sola itidem ex Matre fæmina. Hæc fere

de Deo ac Trinitate profiteri figillatim illos reperies: idque alios alies clarius ac disertius eloqui. Quæ si sola considerentur, ex ils reliqua deinceps necessario fequantur, que de hoc mysterio post Nicanam Synodum in Ecclefia Sancita Sunt, post vehementes ac diuturnos conflictus: & ad convincendos ac refutandos Arianos aliofo; religionis hostes idonea funt ex sese. Now if all the Fathers agreed (as he fays they did ) in this Confession of Faith, it is impossible to charge them with the least suspition of Arianism, only because fome of them Platonifed too much in fome Forms of Expression; and when he fays (as he does once) that they were of the fame Opinion with Arius, it is when he makes Arius not of the fame Opinion with himself, and thinks him a Genuine Platonist, but if he were, that was not his proper Herefie, the peculiar poifon whereof confifted in this, That the Son of God was created it ex ovren; which, as Sozamen declares, and Petavius too, no Man ever affirm'd before Arius, fo that if he were a Platonist, he might be in another Error, but that was not Arianism; and if any of the Ancients might feem to come too near him in fome Platonick Expressions, yet they are all clear by Petavius his account from 2

Soz. l. 1. c. 17. De Trinitate l. 1. c. 8.

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all fuspition of Arianism. This I thought good to interpose in behalf of Petavius. that so learned a Man might not be loaded with such a disingenuous surmise, for no other reason that I can see, then that he has deserved better of his Argument then any other Writer whatfoever, excepting only the great Athenahus himself. purluance

But to return to Constantine, and the Nicene Council, after the Condemnation of Arius, the other Controverse concerning the time of Easter was easily decided the very same day, and all Churches are commanded to observe the Festival in the same form and time. And De Synot. here the difference that St. Athanahus 148. 873. has observed between these two Decrees of the Council is very observable, That when they Enact concerning the Paschal Controversie, they say it seems good to the Council, & And let down the day of the Month, and the year of the Countil in which it was Enacted, thereby intimating that the way of observing Easter, became Obligatory by the Authority of their Decree. But when they fet down their Faith, they beither fay it feems good, nor add any date, but express it in this Form, that so and so the Catholique Church believes, thereby declaring.

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claring. That it is not a New but an Apostolical Faith, and therefore to be received by all Christians. And this is feconded by a Rescript from the Emperor. and recommended partly as a thing fir and decent, that the practice of almost the whole Catholique Church foodd over-rule the Oultoms of particular Churches, and in purfuance of this ge neral Decree, it was farther Enacted That on all Sundays in the year, and on all days from Eafter to Whit fontide, Chri-Rians should every where pray not kneet ing but Randing, a Custom that had been practifed in the Church from the Beginning (and itis reckoned by the fathers among their immemorial Traditions ) as or Symbol of our Saviour's Refurrection at that time, which being not observed by those Churches who kept Easter after the manner of the Found thereby to distinguish themselves from other Christians, the Custom therefore of flanding is here idjoin'd to be observed uniformly in all places, and fo the Council expresses the invent of their Decree one to navia ev radon naconico ouglas and out of leson, that all things may be performed with Uniformity in all Diocel-

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But the mainthing that the Emperour enforces its Practice with, is the Divine Authority of the Councils determination, Socrat, the דע דשו שחשו בסומצידשי מב ועל ישו של בשל דוו ו. נ. 90 spaviav zi belav ws annows everonin. מו של שלי בי יונוג מישונים של בי מונים בי מונים בי מונים בי מונים בי מונים בי מונים בי מונים בי מוני in avagopav. Wherefore matters flanding thus it is requifite that you readily receive this Order as a true divineCommand. for whatever is agreed on in the Holy Councils of Bishops, is to be taken as the Will of God. But then it is remarkable that the Emperour only imposes this Decree of the Council by its own Authority; and does not back it, as he does that against Arianism, with fecular Penalties, for what reasons himself best knew; it is enough that it was not needful, for by the bare Authority of the Council the controversie was laid asleep forever, nor do I remember that after that time we hear of any material Contention about it. Now by the whole management of this bufiness the Conclusion is evident that the Emperour thought that Laws Ecclefiaftick ought to be made by the Ecclesiastick State, and when they were fo, that they were Valid and Obligatory by their own Authority, though himself had power to enforce them with Civil Snactions, as he judged Bb

judged it serviceable to the advancement of Religion and the Peace of Govern ment.

6. VIII. And fo the Great Council was difmift as well as fummon'd by the Emperour with that fuccess he desired, in the unanimous Condemnation of the rian Herefie, infomuch that in that great number of Bishops, that were there prefent, there were no more then two share refused to subscribe the Decrees of the Council, Secundus and Theonas, as Eufs bius himfelf informs us both in the 1.3.c. 13. life of Constantine, and in his Eriftle to his Dioceis and it is from his Authority that Theodores corrects the Errour bons of Socrates and Kpromen, who fet down fix Dissenters, that is, beside those two, Eusebins of Nicomedia, Theognis of NE com Maris of Culcedon, and Eulebins of Cafarea; but though it be true that thefe were the great Sticklers at first against the admission of the word duckors, into the Faith, yet is it certain from Enfelim his own account of it, that they all at last acquiesced in the determination of the Council and Athannin is withefs of this not only for this Enfebrus of Cularen, but his Namefake of Nicomedia. And here even Philostorgius himself who is

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milerably loft the this whole Story and every where betrays his ignorance by his confusion of times, places, and persons, as well as his imperfect and falle Relations over here I fay he happens to report the matter accurately enough, though his Disciple Sandius (who always takes great pains to be in the wrong forfakes both him and all the ancient Historians to follow the imperfect Story of Nicetas; who fets down twenty two Diffenters, and among them Eufebind of Cofarea. But on the other hand St. Je InDianconrom tells us, and that as he pretends from tra Lucif. the very Acts of the Council, that not only these Bishops, but Arius himself and his two Companions Euzoius and Athillas ( the last whereof though but a Presbytet, Sandius is so ignorant, as to take him for the Bishop that was Predecessor to Alexander) were upon submission received into the Churches favoun but this I take to be one of St. Jerom's hafty flips; for as all Authors befide agree that he was immediately badiffit, so it is very unlikely that if he had recented and been received into the Church that Constantine should at that time have publishe that severeRescript a gainst him, that his Sect should be call'd Porphyrians i.e. Enemies to the Christian

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Faith, and that his Books should be burnt upon pain of death. But beside that, if there had been any figns of Repentance in Arius, we should certainly have had an account of it in the Synodical Epittle of the Council to the Church of Alexandria, whereas on the contrary they bemoan the Calamity into which he had not only cast himself, but drawn after him Theonas and Secundus ( two Egyptis an Bishops, and the only two Bishops that stuck to the Arian cause ) into the fame Pit of Destruction. And that could be nothing else but banishment, as appears from the words immediately following, in which they congratulate Churches of Egypt, their deliverance from those wicked and turbulent men, and accordingly the Historians Socrates and Sozomen tell us, that Arius was recall'd from banishment not long after the Council, and not long after him Eusebim of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nicaa, who had been banisht from their Sees by the Emperour, not at the time of the Council with Arius, but some time after. as is evident from the Emperours own Epistle to the Nicomedians, in which he declares the reasons of their banishment, viz. That though they had subscribed the Nicere Faith, yet after their return home they

they had received fome Arians into Commumon, that the Emperour had removed from Alexandria for the fecurity of the Peace of that Church, and that wasthefault of the Enfebrans in this whole affair, that though they were not Arians, they thought that they might communicate with them, as it is evident from the Synodof Alexandria in their excellent Synodical Epiffle, who Abmaf. do not in the least accuse the Eusebians 738. of Ariamim, but only of holding Communion with them. Not long after the inft Banishment of thefe two trimming Bishops. Arius is upon his submission reflored into the bosom of the Church, but with a peremptory command never to return to Alexandria, upon which the banish't Bishops are awakened and encoumged to endeavour their own Restitution, Soc. 1 1.0. in that ( as they plead in their own be- 2. c. 16. half) when the person really guilty was Theod. I. s. abolved, themselves who had never fol- 6. 19. 20. lowed his Herefie, but embraced the Decrees of the Council in all things and subscribed the Faith of Con-Substantial. could not but be concern'd at least to deliver themselves from the very suspicion of that Herefie that they never own'd, and therefore as they had before fubicribed the Bith of the Council, with which they the Council was then well fatisfied Bb3 with-

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without subscribing the Anathema, so now when they were ready to give an entire affent and subscribe even that too as well as the Form of Faith, they hope't it would not only give them complete fatisfaction, but move them to intercede with the Emperour for their Restitution. And that was eafily obtain'd from him, who was defirous of nothing more then the Peace and Concord of the Church. But Eusebius being of an haughty and implacable Spirit, Studies nothing but revenge against Athanasius, who was the chief man, though in an inferiour station, that had born down himself and his whole Party in the Council. And beside his particular spite against the person of Athanasius, his Party could not digest the word ougeons, as Socrates relates, and therefore raifed a new War about it, notwithstanding that they agreed with the Catholicks about the whole Doctrine of the Trinity; When both affirmed ( fays he ) one Godhead subsisting in Three Persans, yet I know not how it came to pass they were always contending about it. And this we shall find exactly true that after the Council of Nice they never in the least appeared in behalf of the Arian Doctrine, but their whole fury was bent against ouoros, and Athanasius, And

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And knowing the invincible courage of the Man, they first set upon him with Calumnies and Accufations, not doubting but that if they could by any means remove him and fome few of his Friends out of the way, that they might eafily overcome the Word. But this they durst not attempt during the Reign of Constantine, who would never endure to hear of any the least change of the Nicene Faith, 1. 2. c. 32. and therefore fays Zozomen, though they were always heaving at the Nicene Faith, they durst never openly reject the word ouosous, for they knew the Emperours mind in that matter, avagardor is se Bax-תם בעום בים דעו המדף וחוף בעום, את εθάρρησαν. ήδεσαν γαρ βασιλέα ω δε δοξάζοντα. But after his death they grew strangely impatient of it, and drew in Constanting (who had been otherwise a very great Prince) to wast his whole Reign in a tediousWar against it, insomuch that he summon'd no less then 14 Councils in less then twenty years for its removal, in all which the Arians were anathematifed, & variety of Creeds composed agreeing in allthings with that of Nicefave only the word out σιος, as will appear when we come to his Reign. But as for the Story of the Arian Controversie under Constantine, after the time of the Nicene Council, it is strange-B b 4

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ly perplexed by an unufual confusion among the Historians themselves; for though they all agree in the fubstance of the Story, yet they all differ as to time and order, but their mistakes are easily rectified by Athanasim his own Account. who has in his Apology all along fet down the exact order and fuccession of things, and that is all, that is his own in the Apology; for he was fo modest that he would not have his Narrative trufted upon his own Authority, but has justified every part of it by Testimonials from other men, publick Records, and the Letters of his Enemies under their own hands, so that the whole Story being its own Evidence needs no other voucher though it be in all its more materail paffages attested by all other Historians. And therefore I shall by his help fet down the Progress of the whole Buliness with all the accuracy that I can, because it is one of the foulest trains of Villany upon Record, and was the meer contrivance of that wicked men Eufebins of Nicomedia, a man of great Power and Authority at that time, whence he acquired the Sirname of Great, which Sandius fays, he acquired by his great power of working Miracles; but this Collector is through his whole Rhapfody his own Author.

Author, for though he is every where Prodigal of his Quotations, yet those few that are truly alledged ( and they are very few ) or that are at all to the purpose (and they are much fewer) relate only to the general Story, as it may be told by all Parties, but his own particular remarks for his own cause are the Fables of his own pure invention. Thus here it would have been a considerable advantage on his own fide, if Eulebine had been for highly favour'd of Heaven as to be endued with a power of working Miracles, and therefore he tells his simple Reader to, though no body ever told him fo; but alas that Ambitious Prelate was fo far from being eminent for any good Qualities, that he was only a Prodigy of Vice and Wickedness, neither was he in all this Contest acted by any zeal that he had for Religion, but meerly by an Atheistical spire and malice. And he feems to be one of them, that after Constanting embraced Christianity, came into the Church not for Religion but Preferment. And he invaded that to greedily, as not to flick at the most scandalous and open violation of the Canons; nerther was he fo much a Bishop as a Courrier, always infinuating himself into the favour of Great Men, and fawning upon

the Emperour himself, but especially courting his Siften Confluent is 1 by whofe zeal, he was well aware, ifd hen could gain her to his fide, he might compass his ends, And it was his great interest in Constantine's Courte that gave him the power and opportunity of doing fo much mischief in the Church And we shall find that he was not wanting to improve it to the utmost, where his Malice, and Revenge were concern'd, especially against Athanasius, whose affront he could never forgive, he having when but a young Deacon in the publick Council encountred and overcome fo great aPrelate, and all that Train of Dependent Bishops, that his Greatness drew after it. So Powerful a Prelate to fuffer all this Difgrace from fo mean a Person as a poor Deacon, and chiefly by his means to be brought upon his knees, and forced to publick Submission, was an indignity so intolerable to his Proud Spirit, that neither the Deacons own Blood nor the Blood of all his Priendswas fufficient to latiate his unquenshable Revenge. And therefore all the forged Accufations against him were of Crimes, the Punishment whereof was Capital, fuch as Murther, Rapes, and Treason, as the Bishops of Egypt observe in their Synodical Epiftle, lo that they impute

Apol. 2. P. 722.;

impute it to the great Clementy of Con-Gantine, that when his Hnemies fought nothing but his death, he appealed and prevented their malice by his banishment. The whole Story runs thus, Enfebins having regain dehe Emperour's favour after his return, writes to Athanafins for the Restitution of Artice. To which he replyes, That the Ring-leaders of Herefies are not fo eafily to be reconciled to the Church as the deluded followers, & that the Church was always wont to pusiff them with greater and longer feverities, and withal that himself was not at all satisfied of the fincerity of Arius his Repentance, and therefore would not as yet hear of any motion for his Restitution. This Eufebiw immediately feizes as a fit Handle for his defign, and away he goes to the Emperour, tells him that Athanafius keeps up Discord in the Church for his own private Picques and Animofities, fo that though Arius defired his Absolution upon repentance, yet he contrary to his duty and all the Laws of the Church refused it. Upon this Canstantine Writes a very threatning Letter to Athanasius, commanding the Restitution of Arim uponpain of deposition and banishment, to which Athanasius returns such a satisfactory Answer as made the Emperour defift

they knew heek fift from interpoling any farther in it. ed, tampers with the Meletian Schisonaticks of Egypt to make a Plot against A. They were a fort of Reople thanalius. that lived in the Boggs and Marshes of Mareotis, where one Priest served ten or more Parishes, much resembling our wild hilb for dulnels and stupidity; and they are thus described by the Bishops of the Council of Alexandria, 'To be men void Apol. 7-731. of faith, Schismaticks and Enemies to the Church, neither was this their first practice in this Trade, but they were old and experienced Plot-makers, they had conspired against their Holy Bishop Peter the Martyr, and after him they Accused his Successor Achillas, and then Alexander, whom they profecuted even into the Emperour's Courts, and being thus versed and practised in Contriving Plots, they now hook in Athenafius, doing nothing strange to their old wickedness, and though their Cafumnies against their former Balbops proved ineffectual, yet now at last they had their end by the affiftance of the Eusebians. With whom these Good Men (as Mr. Baxter very prudently and feafonably for the Credit of his Party obo ferves ) joyn'd Interest, notwithanding

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that they knew them to be Arians, just as if the Nonconformists at this time should feek by the favour of the Papils to be delivered from the filencing and de-Browing Prelates upon condition of Common Liberty, the tales are not much unlike. You may fafely take his word for it, and for the reality of the matter of Fact too, and it is one of the fairest Confessions of Presbyterian Integrity that I have met with, though it is not the only Knavish Plot against the Church of England, that Mr. B's indifferetion has betrayed, as will appear in its due place little to the reputation of some mens honesty, who have been very busie without any Authority from their Superiours to Trim and Plot away every thing of the Church of England but its Revenues. But the Plot, being laid against Athanasius, they first tell a blind Story of a kind of Nags-Head Ordination, that he was privately ordein'd by no more then fix or feven Bishops against the Vote of the Provincial Synod and the Suf-

cial Synod and the Suffrage of the People. But this was right Mareotick dulness, and was soon contradicted by all the Bishops of Egypt and all the Inhabitants of Alexandria, who

And yet Philostorgius has been fo dult as to record this Story for an undoubted truth notwith-funding those many clear Testimonies of its fallbook site extants particularly the Synodical Epistel of the Agyptian Bishops, written on purpose for its confatation, l. 3. Cr. 11.

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were for from oppoling his Elections that they had almost him themselves into Tumults to haften his Confectation. Then-Stories are told of his Arbitrary exactions of Money from the People, but Mariot m one of his Presbyters happening to be present at the Tale, informs the Empels ror that it was nothing but dan lifual? Collection to repair and adorn the Church. Upon this Matarini is not long after Accused of Conspiring with Arhan massius to fend Money to Philumenus, that was to murther the Emperor, but they both appear at Constantinople, and so fall tisfie him of their Innocence, and the abfurdity of the Accufation, in that they had never known nor feen the Man ( for in former times Men that were Strangers to each other were not wont to enter! into fuch Plots, that if discover'd must certainly cost them their lives ) and therefore the Emperour being affured that they were no familiar acquaintance with the Traytor, does not only acquire the but fends them home with commendate? ry Letters.

But these deseats instead of abating the impudence of the Enselians, do but more exasperate their rage, and there fore they now resolve to stab home. Established having gotten a new Evidence.

fit for the purpole, one Ifchirus a del bauch't presended Priest, that had for ged his Holy Orders, whom Athanefius in his left Wifitation had deposed, and forced to fly the Country; he repairs to Eusebine, and offers him his Service as an Evidence, he receives him as a true Presbyter into his protection, and gives him the promise of a Bishoprick, if he will swear home against Athanesius; he immediately Swears that Athanafine had Affaulted his Church ( though he never had any ) in an Hostile manner, and that either himself or his Presbyter Mecarine (for he would not be positive asta Persons) had in their rage overturn'd the Communion Table, broke in pieces the mystical Cup, ( so they call'd it to make it appear more terrible ) and burnt the Bibles. But all this would proceed no farther then Deposition, and therefore he adds, that Athanasius had with his own hands murthered Arlenius a Bishop, and shews a Man's hand, than was cut off by Athanasius, when the Fact was done, and Arfenius himself being of the Confederacy was to abfcond by consent, till Athanasias was dispatched out of the way. But fo it happened very unfortunately; that Ifehirus his Confeience (It feems Perjury in that Age Was

was not grown to its full affurance) mifgave him, fo that he confessed the forgery of the whole Plot in a Letter to Athanasius himself, subscribed in the presence of a great number of Clergy but the Caufe had been referred by the Emperor to Dalmatius the Governor of Egypt; and before the Tryal Athanafia had the good luck to find out the murthered Arfenius, and had him forth-co ming at the Tryal; and though at first he pleaded ignorance of himfelf, and denyed himself to be the Man, and would have fworn himself out of himself, yet being Convicted by a cloud of Witnesses, he confessed the Conspiracy, and upon the shame of so clear a Conviction ( for modesty had not then quite left the Earth) both he and John a Ring-leads ing Bishop among the Miletians confess all the Villany, beg Athanasim his Pardon, and the Communion of the Catholick Church. This the good Man could not but think enough to fecure his Innocence against the like attempts forever, and therefore with all haft he difparches away his faithful Presbyter Maearins to acquaint the Emperor with all that had passed, and upon the information Constantine breaks up the Court clears Athanasius, and by his Letters to Alexand

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Alexandria declares the Villainy of the Meletians. And here the Plot flept for near two years before Eufebius durst revive it, but having with great pains and promises recover d his Evidence, he and his Party infimuate to the Emperor, That Athanahus had taken off Bishop John by great funs of Money, and had to threatned the poor Meletian Nonconformifts ( for fo Mr. B. calls these plotting Schifmaticks') that they durft not appear to give in their Evidence against him; That the shew of Arsenius was all a rank theat, and that the Person that appeared in his flead was hired by Athanahus. and attested only by a few of his own Combination. The Emperor is both tired and amused with all this intrigue, and therefore furnmons a Council at Tyre to find out the bottom of these Plots. and unravel the whole Information on both fides. Where Athanafus accompanied with the Bishops of his Province, appears with that boldness and security that became his Innocence; for though flying Stories may gain credit among the multirude, whilst they are no more then Stories, yet when they are brought to a publick Examination before Judges, though themselves be Parties, they so vilibly betray their own folly, that few Was .

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Men have confidence enough to protect and support their fallhood. And so it happened here, for Dionyhus, who was appointed President to see that all things were fairly carried, was himfelf of the Eusebian Faction, and the Bishops that fat were of Dionyfius and Eusebius his own packing, and yet for all that the Plot was loft in the management, and came to nothing; and indeed fo defe-Crive and unfortunate was it in its Evidence, that no difingenuity in the Judges could piece it up. The Counterfeit Priest Ischiras is re-produced, and in hopes of his Bishoprick, swears all over again that he had before forfworn, but it feems though he stood not Convicted of Perjury, the Court was ashamed of his Evidence, for by the Imperial Law a Man that fwore manifest Contradictions was supposed to have sworn himself a perjured Person without the formality of any other Conviction. But after this they bring upon the Stage fuch a Plot, that if Athanasius had not broken through it by a very lucky Counter-Comedy, must have ensured him beyond all relief. On the fudden comes in a beautifal Woman, a common Strumpet, that had wit and impudence enough to act her part, and the with abundance of Tears,

Tears, and all the Solemnities of Grief declares. That when she had devoted her felf to Virginity, she was ravisht by Athanasus. And now here you may think that the Eusebians were confident they had him fast enough, but they were strangely out-witted, for Athanahus stands careless, and like a Person unconcern'd, and Timotheus one of his Presbyters that stood next to him, immediately takes the Accusation upon himself, and with great feriousness and passion Expostulates with the Woman, where and when he had ever been in her Company, at which the directing her discourse to him, and pointing directly at him, answers, Yes Sir it was you, you I fay, that offer'd me this dishonourable violence and rudeness, with other foul forms of Speech; that are usual with such Persons in like And yet though this dash't the Court fomewhat out of countenance; and Athanafius requested that the Woman might be secured for farther Examination, yet was fhe dismissed so as never to be found more; and he is told that there are much blacker Crimes still behind, of which he should be convinced, not by his Ears but his Eyes, and for out comes the hand of Arsenius, for they now supposed themselves secure of him; Cc 1

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being fled for fear of his life (for the Eusebians had threatned, that if ever they could reach him, they would make him pay dear for his discovery.) But fuch was the diligence, and so great the Correspondence of Athanasus, that he still had him in his Pocket, brings him into Court, demands whether they knew the Man, and he being own'd to be the fame, both by the Judges and the Evidence, he turns back first one side of his Cloak and shews one hand, but they cry that it was the other hand that was cut off, and to give them encouragement he keeps them in some suspence: but after a while, when they began to be confident, he turns back the other fide and brings out the other hand, faying, You fee that Arfenius has his two hands, and that is as many as God made him, but from whence the third hand was cut off, I hope the Evidence will prove; and yet for all this his Enemies, though ( as Theodoret obferves ) they ought for meer shame to have wished the Earth to swallow them up quick, finding themselves fo wofully defeated, they fend fome of the rankest Members of the Committee of Secrecy to Mareotis for new Evidence; and in the mean while continue their Sessions from

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from time to time, where all things are carried with Tumult and Confusion, the Evidence which were numerous, and the Rabble crying out and raving for his blood, the Emperours Officers that were fent thither to fecure the Peace. fearing left (as is usual in Seditions) the Rabble should take head, and tear him in pieces before their faces, conveigh him out of the Council; and he being tired with all these foul dealings, and finding that they were resolved upon his ruine, conveighs himself from Tyre, and repairs to the Emperor at Constantinople, to complain of his hard usage, and implore his protection against all that inhumanity that he had fuffered in the Council; but the Emperor was fo prejudiced that he would neither fee nor hear him, and withal so guarded by the Eusebians that Athanasius could get no admittance into his presence, and is forced to accost him in the Streets, but the Emperor regards him not, scarce gives him any hearing but no answer; in the mean time the Committee return from Mareotis with Cloak-bags full of fresh Evidence, not to be Communicated any farther then the Committee of Secrefie, and though all Accufations, whatever they were, were abundantly controuled, Cc 3

and over-power'd by feveral unexceptionable Certificates from the place, in behalf of Athanafius, and though even Dionyfius himself was at length ashamed of the whole business, as he intimates in his Letter to the Eusebians, perhaps Max. Tom. frighted to it by the bold conclusion of 2. 7. 455. a Letter from the Clergy of the Diocess of Alexandria, wherein they tell the Council, That they had fent Copies of it to the Emperor himself, that so they might not suppress it, as by all their unworthy and unjust actings they had too much reason to suspect they would, but yet for all this, the Committee pretending that they were fatisfied of the whole matter, Athanasius is in his abfence Deposed and Excommunicated. the Meletians Absolved, and Ischiras made Bishop of his own Village, and a Church built on purpose in it for his Cathedral; and to compleat the Extravagance of the Scene, Arlenius himself was taken into the Council; and the Man that was flain by Athanafius, voted his Deposition, and subscribed it with

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6. IX. But Constantine considering with himself the modesty and reasonableness of Athanasius his request, only that

the very hand that was cut off.

that he would be pleased to hear him before the Judges that had condemned him, it at length put him into some choller, and fo confident an Appeal made him fuspect some foul dealing, and therefore he Summons them in high terms, immediately to appear before himfelf, to give an account of their proceedings. But they being conscious to themselves of the foulness of their actions, fend only a few of the Court-Bifhops, who craftily wave all their old and baffed Accufations at Tyre, amuse and furprise the Emperor with a new Story, That Athanafius should threaten to stop the Victualling Ships from Atexandria, and boaft that it was in his power to starve the City of Constantinople: This was a very tender point with the Emperor, that touch't his own darling City, and this they very well knew, he having not long before put Eunap. in his great Favourite Soparer the Philoso-vità Sopar, pher to death for the very fame Accufation. So that here ( as Athanafius Apolip. 805, himself reports it ) the Emperour's fury took fire, he immediately fell into a rage, and without any hearing the cause, or without any form of Judgment, commanded my fpeedy banishment into France. And shortly after the Emperor Cc4

dies, of whose intention his Eldest Son. that best knew it, informs us, That his Father only removed Athanasius for a time, to rescue him from the rage of blood-thirsty Men, that were resolved to have his life, intending in a little time to restore him to his Bishoprick, but was prevented by death. And therefore the young Emperor declares, That it was in pursuance of his Fathers Will, that he commanded his Restitution. And Atha-Ep. ad so- mafius himself is fo far from Accusing the Emperor's rigour, that he imputes his banishment purely to his kindness, to deliver him from the Rage and the Snares of the Eusebians; and therefore when they importun'd the Emperor to put another Bishop in his place, thereby to prevent his Restitution, he was peremptory in his refusal, and would never hear of it without great indignation. But however Athanasius being removed out of the way, the next thing they endeayour is the restitution of Arius upon his pretended Repentance; for it is all along fuggested to the Emperor, that he had renounced his Herefie, and the defired Communion of the Church, which was denyed him only by the peevishness of Athanafins, and that it was his fingle wilfulness herein that was the cause of all these trou-

troubles. The Emperour at their importunity recalls Arius and his Associate Enzoius; and for the fecurity of their Repentance, they humbly present him with their Confession of Faith, in which they come up to the Nicene Creed in all things, but only the very word emotor ... for though they baulk the word it felf. they clearly affert the thing, and instead of their prophane Novelties, That the Son of God was made out of nothing. and that there was a time when he was not, that are the two main points of the Arian Heresie, they now affirm now ύον αυτέ τον έξ αυτέ [πατρ.] προ πάντων των αιώνων γερονεμένου Θεον, the Son of God to be God, begotten of his Father from Eternity; but if fo, it is undeniable that he was of the fame uncreated Substance with the Father, and this is so easie and intelligible in it self, that it was a most unaccountable kind of perverseness in the Eusebians to make so much stir against the word ouosos , that did but more plainly express the Notion that themselves profess to maintain: But upon this Arius is received and fent to Alexandria with commendatory Letters, not only from the Council but the Emperor, in which (as Sandius adds of 1. 2. p. 35. his own pure good Will ) he renounces the

the Nicene Determination, and rejecting the word ouoso . recommends to them that of imperio, and that Alexander Bishop of Alexandria subscribed the Letter, and that a Reconciliation was then made between him and the Arians, and this he proves with great gravity from Book and Chapter of Socrates and Sozomen; but if you confult the places referred to, there is nothing like this Story, and they happen to treat of quite different matters, as particularly the Chapter of Sozomen, of the Conversion of the Iberians. And as for the Story of Alexander's fubscription, it is as foolish as false, for that good Man dyed long before this time, viz. within five Months after the Council of Nice, whereas this Letter was not fent till after the banishment of Athanasus, that succeeded him; and yet after this time does this injudicious Scribler make him to prevaricate his promise, and then again Relapse to the Homousian Heresie. But this he is forced to do, to make fomething of the inconfiftent Tales of Philostorgius, who places all this Fable immediately after the Nicene Council, but that being so apparently false, and against all Records, this Historian would thrust it in at this more obscure time, but so unfortunately, that the.

the chief Actor that he brings upon the Stage, was long fince out of the World. And after the same rate is he confounded and loft through the whole Series of this Story, fo that at this time he places the return of Eusebius and Theognis from banishment, and to it tacks a pleasant Fable of his own pure devising, viz. That the Emperor after their return, enquiring of them the reason of their diffent from the Decrees of the Council, when they had fubscribed them. ey answered, That they subscribed not willingly, but being afraid left he being offended at the Quarrel should fall off from the Christian Religion, as too uncertain and full of Controversie, and then from an Apostate turn a Persecutor, with which the Emperor being fatisfied, refolves to call another Council to mend matters, but is prevented by death. But a Man that can write thus confidently out of his own pure invention, is a very fit fecond for Philostorgius, and a fit Patron to make out the fair carriage of the Arians and Eusebians in this whole Story. But to return to Arius, when he came to Alexandria, they shut their Gates against him, and he is forced to turn back to Constantinople, where was met a Council of Eusebians against

against Marcellus, then an eminent Defender of the Catholique Faith; for having at last Conquer'd Athanasus they now resolve to rout the whole Party. In this Council Arius presents himself to the Emperor, and complains of the affront that was offer'd to him by the Alexandrians, but here he is again Catechifed concerning his Faith, and the Emperor to tye him fast is not content with his bare Subscription, but makes him give in his Confession upon Oath And upon this fecurity he commands Alexander Bishop of Constantinople to receive him into the Communion of the Church, which the good Man flatly refuses, and hereupon the Eusebians agree to accompany him to the Church with extraordinary Pomp and Triumph, but in the midst of the Procession Arius was snatcht away with that strange kind of death that is well known to have been his fingular Fate.

But here our faithful Arian Historians Philostorgius and Sandius, are so wise and ingenuous as to say no more of the Stories of Ischiras, Arsenius, and all the other parts of the Tyrian Plot, then that Athanasius was accused in Council of all the Crimes charged against him, and by them sound Guilty, and that when the

the Commissioners from the Council appear'd before the Emperor, they fo convinced Athanahus of all the Crimes laid to his charge, and fo fatisfied the Emperor of his guilt, that he immediately fentenced him to banishment; these are worthy Historians, and proper Advocates for the management of the Eufebian Cause, that have the confidence to out-face publick and undeniable Records: the foulness of all these proceedings was made evident by the Acts of Court yet extant, and the Confessions of the Witnesses themselves, particularly Ischiras, under Hand and Seal, and all this within fhort time after the Transactions themfelves, published to the whole World by Athanafius himself in the face of his Enemies without any contradiction: And now when the whole forgery was thus. shamefully exposed in the face of the Sun, and stood so upon Record to all Ages, are not these wise Men to think that they are able to flur fo clear an Evidence only by their trifling it ? as if all the World were fo blind or fo foolish as to read or believe nothing but their Fa-And yet this incredible confidence is all the strength of these daring Historiens.

This is the true State of the Arian Controversie, during the Reign of Constantine, and by all the premisses it is evident, that the Herefie it felf could never openly appear after the Nicene Council, and that all the stirs, that were raised after that, were occasion'd by the folly and malice of the Eulebians, who profess't themselves Catholiques; and that their contest with Athanasius was not about points of Faith, but his own particular Crimes and Misdemeanors, of which they falfely and wickedly accused him to the Emperor. So that his actings against Athanasius, after the Nicene Council proceeded not from any change of mind in him concerning the Faith (as fome surmise) for it is evident through his whole Reign that he was highly tender of that as it was fettled by the great Council, and only proceeded against Athanasius as a Person of a Turbulent and unquiet Spirit, as he was reprefented to him by the Calumnies of his Enemies. Though how he could be for long imposed upon after such discoveries as were made of the Villaries of the Meletians appears fomewhat unaccountable For what can be more fo, then that men Convicted of Forgery in open Court, should ever after be admitted as Witnesses

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in the fame Cause and the same Court ? But yet if we observe the matter carefully, all this was done without the Emperours knowledge, for after the first difcovery that was made to him by Athanahus, all the rest was transacted by his Officers, for he knew nothing of the whole Comedy of the Council of Tyre, in which the whole bufiness was managed, neither durst the Managers themselves acquaint him with any thing of the Story, but when they appear before him at his angry Summons that he fent only upon fuspicion of their injustice, they on a suddain surprise and divert his rage upon Athanafius by a new and unexpected Accusation, that they very well knew by experience he could not bear, having for the fame thing destroyed the man he loved. And therefore as Constantine was not only not Privy to the Plot himself, so neither was he guilty of that remisness in its Examination, as is commonly supposed; for beside his ignorance of the transactions in the Tyrian Council, the whole mystery of it lay in the fecret Confederacy between the Eusebians and the Meletians, that the Emperour could have no ground to fuspect in the Council, for the Meletians were an obscure and contemptible handful of men in a remote and neglected part of the Empire.

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Empire, and who could fuspect a Conspiracy between these poor wretches, and Eusebius of Nicomedia and some of his own Courtiers ? And yet this one unfuffpected piece of Villany was the bottom of all Athanahus his Calamities. - Neither do I think the Emperour alone innocent in this whole matter, but feveral of the Judges and Profecutors, that were impofed upon by the Forgery; for it is not every one that Acts in a Plot that is privy to .its Contrivance: that is kept within the close Cabal; and National Plots in which vast variety of Persons unknown to one another are engaged, are not to be found in every age, for it is but feldom that mankind are fo madly extravagant as to venture their lives at fo cheap a rate. At least in the days of Constant tine men were fomewhat more wary, and if any man had fworn a Story of fuch a Plot, the very absurdity of his own Tale would have Convicted him of Forgery. And therefore we may be fure that at that time the fecret was kept among a few, who till it was discover'd and brought into the Light, might draw in many others to act very enormous things with fair and plaufible Pretences. This I take to be the peculiar Apology that wholly clears Constantines innocence m

in this Matter, his utter ignorance of the Plot, and the little ground he had to fuspect it, though beside that, there are divers other Pleas that though they will not wholy justifie, will very much excuse his Actions. As first the great lenity and gentleness of his Nature, that was abused and imposed upon by ill men, who infinuated themselves into his favour by a counterfeit Zeal for Christianity, and by that means gain'd the greatest places of Trust and Dignity in the Empire. and fuch men would be fure to abuse their Power to the ruine and oppression of the People. This is remarqued as the peculiar blot of his Reign by the Historians of all Parties, Ammianus Marcellinus fays, that it was the Emperour himself that opened the devouring Jaws of his 4 16. Courtiers. 'And Aurelius Victor favs. that under him the exaction of Taxes was raifed to the highest Oppression, and (though an Heathen) that his Reign was in all other things like the Kingdom of Heaven, had not the Chief Offices of State been given to unworthy Men, which Milcarriages though they are often committed, yet in a Great Prince and Good Government, even small Vices appear a great blemish. Eutropius observes the very Dd

4.4.6 54 fame defect, and Eusebius himself has left this Character of his whole Reign. 'The two great Calamities of his time were the intollerable Oppression of wicked and covetous men, that devour-'ed all parts of the Empire, and the 'false and hypocritical pretence to Chriflianity, to fweep away all the best preferments, and to this miscarriage the Emperours own good nature and the 'affurance of his own integrity betrayed 'him, fo that he would trust any man that did but dissemble Christianity, or pretend any Zeal to his own service, and by this means many shameful and dishonest things were done, as if the Devil had out of meer envy to his Glory dasht this blot upon his other Vertues and Praises. And the two remarkable inflances of this defect in his Reign are Ablavius in the State and Eusebius of Nicomedia in the Church, two as bad men as ufually any age produces, and the great power and wickedness of Eusebius, was the great infelicity of the Church under Adan. 336. Constantine, for as Baronius has very well observed, (and I will say that for him he has been very just to this Great Princes Memory ) his Court was fill'd with Em febians, by the favour of his Son Constantius, who from the time of his having

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created Cafar, though a ving been younger Brother was the chief manager of Affairs of State, in that he minded Business whilst his Elder Brother Constantine followed his Pleasures. And therefore all the worship of the Court was made to this active young Prince as the Rifing Sun. So that he being Govern'd by Eusebius of Nicomedia ( as he always was ) he carefully stopt and guarded all passages of Complaint from the Catholicks to the Emperour, as appears by the Address of Athanasius, who could gain no admittance at Court, but was forced to accost him as he rode through the Streets, and the Emperour was possest with fo ill an Opinion of him, that he would neither then hear his Complaint, nor order his attendance at Court, which was a very unusual severity in his Government. And yet his love of Justice appears, in that when Athanafius Petitioned for nothing else then that he might be heard by the Emperour before his Tyrian Judges, he immediately fummon'd them at so just and modest an Appeal. And then Athanafius might eafily have cleared himself, had they not surprized and overwhelm'd him with a new Accufation attested by his own best friends, for the Witnesses that they produced of Dd z his

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his threatning to hinder the Transportation of Corn to Constantinople were some of those, that had appeared most eminently in his defence at the Tyrian Council. This was an Evidence that could not be withstood, nor is it to be avoided but by one of these two ways. Either that Athanafius being vext out of all Patience by fo long a Train of base usage, and knowing his great and popular interest at Alexandria, might in some suddain and extravagant Passion have bolted out some fuch threatning, which though it were a very high Crime in the Emperours Efteem, no less then Treason against his own Royal City, yet its Enormity confifted in its great rashness and indiscretion; and this to me feems very probable, if we confider his Great Spirit, his Cholerick Constitution, and his Infinite Provocation: or elfe that his Friends were fince the Council taken off by the Briberies and Flatteries of the Eusebians. But if it were fo, the Emperour could have no Evidence for it, neither indeed have we any ground to furmife it was fo, and therefore the thing being fo fully attefted by Athanasius his own Friends, it was as fair a Testimony as could be given in any Case; no wonder then that it raised the Emperours displeasure so high, that he would

would hear no more, when it endanger'd the Peace of the Empire, and the ruine of his own City, that could not possibly fublish without the constant supplies from Alexandria.

To all which we may add the Fmperour's impatient defire of Peace and Concord in the Christian Church, as it is vifible through his whole Reign, and of this Athanafius was all along represented to him as the only Obstacle and therefore Sozomen leaves it doubtful whether the Emperour banisht him because he believ- 1. 2. 6.28. ed the Accusations against him, or because it would be a means of setling Concord among the other Bishops, the whole Quarrel being about him, and as his Enemies represented it, meerly raised and kept up by him; and therefore when Anthony the Famous Monk of Ægypt interceded for his Restitution, the Emperour returns in Answer, that Athanafius was a ib. c. 31. proud and provoking man, and a Ringleader of Discord and Sedition, for these were the Crimes ( fays the Historian that his Adversaries chiefly objected against him, because the Emperour of all men in the World most hated men of that temper. And therefore because John the Meletian Bishop was the head of the other Faction, he fent him into banishment Dd 3

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too, supposing that when the Leaders were out of the way, the Schism would

dye of its own accord. Now if we lay all these things toge-

ther, we shall have no reason to lay any hard usage or foul dealing to Constantine in this whole affair, and they that best understood it, altogether acquit him, as we have feen from the Council of Alexand ia, from Athanafius himself, and from 1. 1. c. 33. Constantine the younger. And Theodoret pleads in his excuse, agreeable to what we have observed above of his easiness to be imposed upon by men that pretended. well, That he was apparently circumvented in the whole transaction by trusting to the honesty of some Bishops, that hid their Malice and Wickedness under great shews And therefore it is but a rash of Piety conclusion of St. Jerom and Lucifer Calaritanas, that Constantine before his Death turn'd Arian. When his zeal for the Nicene Faith was fo evident through all the Actions of his life, when the Eusebians themfelves, by whom he was deceived, were great pretenders against the Arian Herefie, and when he would not be reconciled to Arius till he had upon Oath profest the Catholick Faith, and when himfelf was careful to tye on the Obligation of the Oath with all possible severity, telling

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telling him, if your faith be right your Oath is good, but if Heretical and yet you have figern, know this that God will judge you from Heaven. All which is very far from looking any thing like Arianifm, but St. Ferom was an hasty man. and abounds too much with these harsh and heedless censures, and Lucifer Calaritanus though he were a Catholick was a very peevish man, and out of meer peevishness turn'd Schismatick from the Catholicks and is the first Catholick Christian that I can find upon Record, that ever fpoke rudely and indecently of a Sovereign Prince as he did of Constantius. before his Apoltacy from the Church. For immediately after his Restitution he utterly forfook its Communion, because the Catholicks admitted the Arian Clergy into it upon Repentance, and is so stubborn in his Schism, that to keep it up he forfakes his Bishoprick in Sardinia, fliesinto Africa, the Soil of Schisms as well as Monsters, and there joyns Faction though not Communion with the Donatifts, for though they never communication cated with each other, yet they United Interests against the Catholicks. And therefore his rudeness to the Emperour Constantius, and his Calumny of Constantine though done by him whilft a Ca-Dd 4 tholick,

tholick, proceeded from his Spirit of Donatifm, that was discovered by his after-Actions. And now having thus far fet down the true Story of the Arian Controversie under this Emperour as to matter of Fact, and from it exemply fied both the Authority and Duty of Christian Princes in the Government of the Church. I shall forhear making any remarks or reflections upon in till I have given an Hifton rical account of the exercise of the same power, by his Successors in the following Ages of the Church, whereby we shall find that the example of this Great Prince was fet up as the best Standard of Government & that those Princes that were most careful to discharge their Conscience towards the Church, and most prudent in the exercise of their power over it, propounded his example to themselves for the Pattern of their Reign, and that those fwerved more or less from the right Rule of Government, who forfook his Method to fet up new Politicks of their own devising; from whence we shall not only exemplifie the right and wrong exereife of Regal Supremacy in the Christian Church, but withal discover the feveral Grounds and Reafons, upon which the power of Princes ( though not Eceleliaftical) comes to be fo far interested III

in matters of the Church, as to be fuperiour to its own proper power, and that I hope is fufficient to fettle this Argument

1. X. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Empire is divided between his three Sons, and that, as 'tis most commonly supposed upon the Authority of Eufebius, by his last Will and Testa-De Vina ment, though if we confult the passage 1.4. c. SI. it felf, it is only a loofe expression fitted to a Panegyrick rather then an History : and fo are all his four Books of the Life of Constantine, and amounts to no more then this, That he left the Empire divided like a Patrimony between his three Sons, but that any division was formally made by Will, is an Addition of his Tranflator Ruffmus, who indeed is the first Founder of the Story, and for that reafon we must pass it among his other numberless Crudities. For though his Story is pretended to be nothing else then a Translation of Enfebius, yet he has perform'd it after that bold and careless rate. as almost to have turn'd the History into a Romance by flourishing it with variety of circumstances of his own invention. And therefore where he adds any thing to Eusebius he is to be turn'd off, as an Author

thor of no Credit, for no worse reafon then this, because he speaks without Authority, for now he can have but that of Eusebius. So that whatever he has given us over and above what Eusebius has given him, must pass for an extravagant Dream and Vision of his own over hot Brain. And fuch is this passage, that Constantine himself made by Will the Division of the Em pire between his three Sons, whereas Eusebius makes no mention of any Will. but only affirms in general terms, and that in a Panegyrical Stile, that he di vided the Empire, that is, left it divided to his Sons as it were a Paternal Inheritance, which Ruffinus has boldly translated [ liberis de successione Romani Orbis Testamento hæredibus scriptis ] And this bold rendring is all the ground of this Conceit, for as for the Story of Constantines delivering his Will to an Arian Presbyter, it looks fo like an Arian Fiction, and is fo utterly destitute of any timely Authority, that as it can deferve no credit, fo I cannot think it worth any Examination. Especially when it is so evident that he was so far from making the Dividend between his Sons before his death, that there was an intrigue after it for three

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three Months and an half, all which Idaim is times his Sons took not upon them the Faftis. Imperial Authority, which was denoted by the Title of Augustus, but kept that of the Cæsars, which they had before, and is fynonimous with that of Prince in other Empires and Kingdoms, till each man took upon him the Government of his own share, so that it is not improbable that the division was made among themselves, as 'tis expresly attested by Zozimus and orat, I. Victor, and shrewdly intimated by Julian Ed Petav. himself in his Panegyrick to Constanting 1. 60.75. where he commends the Brothers for agreeing fo amicably among themselves in the Division of the Empire, in that they had done as the Sons of Darius of old. who referred the like Controversie to the Arbitration of Friends instead of deciding it by the Sword; now this prudence and moderation had been very little commendable in Constantius and his Brothers, if every mans lot had been before-hand legally fettled and determin'd by their Father, at least their reiterated Commendation for agreeing to fairly among themselves in sharing the Empire, shews that it was their own Act and Deed, and not their Fathers fettlement. Though after all the most likely conjecture is, that every man kept that part, of which he was in posfession

fession as Vice-Roy at his Eathers death. for it is certain that at the time of his death the Government of the Empire under him was shared among them after the fame manner, as it ever after continued, and therefore it was but a chance that the eldest Brother succeeded in that part that came from the Grandfather, in that he then happened to be the prefent Vice-Roy of it; and it is but a lavish coneeit that some would Collect from the Panegyrick of Eufebius, that he fucceeded to it as Heir of the Family, whereas Eusebius affirms nothing more, then that the eldest Son had that part that came from the Grandfather; but upon what account it was allotted to him he favs nothing, and therefore it is most probable that as he fucceeded not by right of Inheritance, (for there was no fuch thing at that time in the Roman Empire, and if there had, he must have inherited his Fathers Empire as well as his Grandfathers;) fo neither by Will or Testament, for then his Father had deaft very unkindly by his Eldest Son to leave him but a younger Brothers Portion, viz. one half of the Western Empire, and that the worst too, the Transalpine Provinces; but meerly by the Cafual Title of Poffession which he was forced to accept of, because his younger

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Younger Brothers would part with none of their demeans, and therefore which way foever the Lot was cast, he was so diffatified with his own division, that he invaded his younger Brothers Dominions, Italy, and Africk, but perisht in the attempt: So that though he was a friend to the Orthodox Faith, yet he lived not long enough to do it any considerable Service, only he recall'd Athanasius from banishment speedily after his Father's death, in that he fubscribes his Letter to the Alexandrians, commanding his reception, by the name of Cæfar, which must be within the three Months before the division, and that shews the forwardness of his zeal in the cause. Though Sandius, the Arian that would be, if he 1. 2. p. 18. knew what it meant, is here so impudent as to tell us, thut upon the death of Constantine, Athanasius immediately returned to Alexandria without any Warrant from Authority; and is fo shameless, or rather stupid, as to cite for it those very Chapters in Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, where the Princes Letters, by which he was recall'd with all expressions of kindness, are Recorded, and this is to prove that he return'd to Alexandria in contempt of that Authority by which he was banisht, and tho thefe

these Letters are so full of respect and honour to Athanasius, yet this modest Man blushes not to fet down the Prince that fent them for a Patron of Arianism. I find strange dealing with the Records of the Church by all Factions, that will not or dare not be honest; but this Man's whole flory is nothing better then a meer blot dasht upon them all, and yet because his Tale, though it be as dull as false, is cross to the received Opinion of the Church, from the Council of Nice to this very day, it is embraced as a great and weighty discovery, and the filly Scribler Canonised among the Wits and the Worthies of this discerning Age, and therefore though, whoever he was, he be a very contemptible thing of himself, yet because he has got the Authority of a fashionable Vogue, I am forced all along as I proceed in this Story, to expose his want of common Sense as well as common Honesty, only to let the unlearned Scepticks of the Age fee by what woful Dunces they are cheated out of their Religion. And next to informing them of the real Truth of things, I take this way of checking their pride and folly to be the best method to reduce them to Sobriety. But to leave this Pedant, and return to my Story: Upon the

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the death of Constantine the younger, the whole Western Empire falls to his Brother Constans, and so came in that fatal division both of the Empire and the Church, that at last proved the utter For after ruine and destruction of both. this time we read of nothing fo much as Wars and Diffentions between the two States, and Schifms and Divisions between the two Churches (unless now and then when the Empire hapned to be united in one wife Prince, as in Valentinian, Theodofius, and Marcian, ) till at. last the Empire was swallowed up by its own divisions, and the incursions of the Barbarians, and the Church split afunder by an irreconcileable Schism between the Greeks and Latins. The first Foundation of which breach was laid by these two Brothers, who unhappily divided the Clergy of the Empire as well as the Civil State: For Constantius fiding with the Eusebians in the East, and Constans with the Athanasians in the West, which was now become the quarrel, the cause of Arius being wholly laid aside by both Parties, and the only contest now was, Whether the word emosor ought to be cashier'd as offenfive, because unscriptural, as the Eusebians contended, or to be preferved as a necefresie, as Athanasias and his friends truly maintain'd. Now each Party having the Power of the Empire to abet and support its interest, and the Division being become a kind of a State-Faction; this to be sure made the breach wider, and the quarrel siercer them a meer Eccle-

fiaftical Schifm could have come to. infomuch that it fometime came very near to a Civil War between the two Brothers. All which was chiefly occafioned by the folly of Constantius, who being the more zealous and ferious of the two ( for Conflans gave himself more up to his pleasure and luxury ) he was fo much the more busie in the advancement of his Faction, and it is an astonishing thing to observe how childishly he spent his whole Reign in Metaphysical wranglings about Religion, as he is justly and too truly cenfur'd by Ammianus 1. i. c. 16. Marcellinus. Christianam religionem ab-Solutam & simplicem anili Superstitione confundens; in qua scrutanda perplexius, quam componenda gravius, excitavit difcidia plurima, quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum; ut catervis Ani tistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per Synodos quas appellant; dum ritum omnem ad suum trabere cona-

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fur arbitrium, rei vehiculariæ Juccideret Nervos. ' He debauch't the Christian Religion, that was plain and easie in it felf, into Old-wives Superstition, and by being more nice then wife in his Enquiries and Speculations about it. he fo entangled it into endless Knots and Controversies about meer words. that he wore away the publick Highways, and his own Carriages by conveighing Bishops backward and forward to Councils, when after all he took upon himself to determine all controversies by his own Arbitrary refolution of all things. And this Character is truer then the Pagan Soldier, who understood not the particulars, could be aware of, for the word ouosoi@ was the only object of his fury, and as St. Athanafius fomewhere expresses it. he fpent more pains upon it, then in all his Perfian War; what numbers of Councils, like fo many Armies, did he fummon to encounter and cashiere it, and after what an Arbitrary and unprincely manner did he behave himself in them to have his Will of it ? Instead of calling free Councils, and allowing free Conference in them, he takes upon himfelf the Power of prefiding and determining all by his own imperious Commands. Navianz. in laudibus Athanas. mands, and at length tired out himself with vain struglings against the Churches Authority, and after Five and Twenty years War against one poor fingle word, he repents his folly, and dies with the confession of it in his mouth. But what if the word did not please his Palate, what need of all this rage and indignation against it? And granting thatit might have been spared at first as those that Seduced him pleaded; yet when it was approved and fettled by the Authority of the great Council of Nice, it ought at least for the Peace of the Church to have been submitted to. For to what purpose is it to call Councils for the refolving of Doubts and ending of Controversies, if their determinations have not Authority enough to Warrant and Oblige our Obedience? This word therefore having been planted in their Creed by the great Council, upon mature deliberation, it became all modest and peaceable Men, though they had not at first approved it, after that to make no contention about it. And that was the Schifmatical humour of the Enfebians, that when it was once fix't by the Authority of the Church, they should be fo restless against its admission, which was in effect to destroy and nullifie all Govern

Government in the Christian Church, For if the Decree of so venerable a Council be not of force enough to ver-rule every particular Mans own conceit, it is but folly and non-fense to talk of any such thing as Government in the Church, and this is that which Athanasius in his Book De Synodis every where charges fo home upon them, that they troubled themfelves to call fo many Councils, and compofe fo many Creeds to fettle what was already done to their hands by the Nicene Fathers. And they are gaul'd with the fame objection by Julius Bishop of Rome in his smart Letter to the Eusebians. खेमाधांव 38 बेरेमिकड बंगमा मा के ourod's के मही έν αυτή συνελθόντων έπισκόπων, εαν τα μετά modums omedis if euna Belas ws Och maporto, parouera, and underds Audi. It is an affront (fays he) to the Synod, and all the Bishops that sate in it, if what they with so much Pains and Piety, God himself as it were being present, refolved, should be flighted by us as a thing of no Authority. And this to them was a cutting Argument, for they all profess't great Reverence to the great Council, and therefore ought to have acquiesced in it. And as it was in that tale, so is it in all cases, when once a Controversie is determin'd by the Church, Ee 2

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it ought to conclude all Christians within it. Not because the Church is infallible or any Council how great foever. but because its determinations are Authoritative, and bind by virtue of a divine Commission in all cases that are are not against the clear, express, and immediate Commands of God himfelf fo that if any Man dare prefume to gainfay or disobey any Law of the Church. he ought to have an extraordinary affurance to warrant his diffent : But if he be refractory upon Surmifes and remote Inferences, or about matters of no great Weight, or little Evidence, he plainly runs himself into the fin of Schism in this World, and the punishment of it in the World to come. And that will fall upon him with so much the heavier Load, because the Practice flowing from this Principle is of all things most de-Aructive of that which God of all things most loves, the Peace and Tranquility of his Church. For that cannot possibly be any other way preserved than by a yielding and submissive Temper in all things, where himself has not apparently determin'd us by an antecedent Countermand. And fuch cases can rarely happen, whilft the Primitive Constitution of the Christian Church is any where pre-

preserved, and at least it is clear, that this was the case of the Eusebians, who raised so thick a dust against what was determin'd by the Authority of the Church, only because they supposed the determination unnecessary and imprudent; but what then ? and granting it were fo, it was not unlawful, unless it had expresly contradicted fomething that was necessary. But that themselves had not the confidence to pretend, and if they had not, then it is plain that they ought not to have quarrell'd with it, but to have quietly fubmitted to it, though not for its truth, yet for the Peace, and out of respect to the Sacred Authority of the Christian Church. And that would have faved and prevented all that Turmoil that they brought both upon it and the Empire too for so many years, only to persist in a peevish and (at best) a needless animosity against its Legal and Canonical determination.

6. XI. But to descend to particulars, A-thanastus being arrived at Alexandria with all expressions of joy from the People, and settled in the quiet possession of his See, the Eusebians return to all their old Arts, of undermining his Peace and Settlement. And to this end they deal with E e 3 all

all the three Emperors to have the Sentence of the Tyrian Council Executed upon him. But all in vain, for both Con-Stantine and Constance are better informed of the Plot, and acquainted with the whole Train of the Eusebian Villanies, though Constantius his Ears are wholly possess t by his Women, Eunuchs and Courtiers; as his Character is too truly and shrewdly set down by Amnum gracilentis Vocibus, & Palatinis quibuldam nimium quantum addictus, ad fingula ejus verba plaudentibus, & quid ille giat vel neget, ut affentiri possint, observantibus. That he was too much overruled by his Wives, his Courtiers, and the Effeminate Addresses of his Eunuchs, that watch't to admire and flatter every thing he faid, and whether it were wife or foolish, applaud it. But these were only Tools and Instruments placed about him by Eusebius of N. comedia, to be managed for his own ends, though the first Opportunity that he could feize to commass his long'd-for design upon the Deposition of Athanasius, was given him by the Solemnity of dedicating the great Church at Antioch, that was founded by the Emperor's Father, and finisht by himself, at which were present Ninety Bilhops

Bishops, which Meeting Eusebius craftily turn'd into a Council, and in it deposed Athanasius. And in truth it was but high time to feife the advantage, for the year before they had as craftily referred the cause to Julius Bishop of Rome. to which Judgment Athanasius had according to the constant simplicity and affurance of his own Conscience, submitted himself. But the Eusebians finding that after they had told their Story there, all their tricks were too well understood, and that they could not avoid a very shameful baffe, move for a general Council of Eastern and Western Bishops to be affembled at Rome. And now the Western were accordingly met, where Athanafius attended in Person, and whither his Enemies were fummon'd by virtue of their own Appeal, to appear to make good their Charge against him; but Eu-Jebius, the grand contriver of all, miftrusting the cause, takes this advantage of the Meeting at Antioch, and puts an end to the Appeal to Rome and the Western Bishops, by passing the final Sentence upon him at home. But by what fubrilty they got it to pass the Council is not easie to discover, and it is commonly apprehended from the supposed Authority of Julius Bishop of Rame, that the Ee 4

the intrigue was managed only by Thirty fix of the whole number, that was in all Ninety, but this mistake is founded meerly upon a false Translation of Inlius his Words, viz. of and recongred z & ugray, which Baronius, and they that follow him understand of the Votes of Thirty fix Bishops only; whereas it fignifies Thirty fix days Journey, as Valesius renders it, Quia viginti sex mansionibus. And that is Julius his proper reproof of the Ordination of Gregory, that it was not done at Alexandria, as the Canons required, but at Antioch, which was Thirty fix Mansions, or fo many days Journey, or nights Lodging from Alexandria. And of this use of the Phrase Valesius alledges many Parallel Passages in the Writers of that time, and then the fense of the whole Passage runs clearly thus, 'I pray you who acted most against the Canons? We that upon 'fuch convincing information received the Man [ Athanafius ] to Communion, or you that at Antioch, that is distant Thirty fix days Journey from Alexandria, choose a Stranger [ Gregory to be Bishop of that City, and place him in his See by Military force? So that from this Passage rightly Translated there is no ground of supposing

env. either stealth or division of Votes in the Council; neither is there any need of it, in that for any thing we know the greatest part might either be Ensebians or Orthodox. But whatever they really were, they all at least pretended to be Orthodox, for the Eulebians themselves did not only quit but Anathematife the Arian Herefie, as 'tis evident from all the four Creeds, that were framed in this Council, in which they detest and Anathematise all the branches of it, particularly in the last, which they fent as the refult of all to the Emperor Constans, We Anathematise all those who say that the Son existed out of nothing, or out of any other subfistence, and not out of God himself, or that there was a time when he was not. And yet for all this express declaration, modest Mr. Sandius boldly tells us, That this 1. 2. p. 67. Council expresty denyed the Eternal Generation of the Son of God. But befide this Council of Antioch, all the Councils under Constantius that are commonly accounted Arian, till the last that over-reach't him against his own Opinion, have as fully and clearly condemned Arianism, as the Nicene Council it felf. It is true, they could not digeft the word ougen s but otherwise as for the whole

whole Scheme of Arianism they have in all their Creeds Anathematised it with all clearness and fullness of Expression. And therefore it has been but a vain difpute that has been fo long agitated about the Authority of this Council in particular. St. Chryfostom when he was kept out of his Bishoprick by virtue of a Canon made in it, pleads that they were Arians who made it. And for the fame reason, they are rejected by his Patron Pope Innocent the first Pope. but with what defign we shall fee in its proper place, otherwife the Council has been univerfally received in the Catholick Church; St. Hilary himself reckons it among the Anti-Arian Councils, and the Canons of it were received into the Code of the Canons that was collected before the Council of Calcedon, and have ever fince been received both by the Eastern and Western Churches, till Baronius and the late Romanists endeavoured to bring them into difgrace, for the Affront that they had given to Pope Julius, in rating of him fo feverely for intermedling with their Affairs. For thô that transaction is one of the main paffages that they infift upon, to make out the Authority of the Popes Universal Pragmaticalness, yet there is scarce a fuller Testimony against it extant in the Records of the Church. For when he takes upon him to act out of his Province in giving Absolution to Athanasius, they charge him with a violation of all the Laws of the Christian Church, and tell him that when Novatus was condemn'd by his Predecessors, the Eastern Church would never receive the Schismatick to Communion, and therefore challenge him how he dares make so bold with the Discipline of the Christian Church, as to reverse any of their Decrees, and they afterward proceed so high in the Quarrel, as to Excommunicate his Holiness for his uncanonical Prefumption, and to fignifie their Sentence against him by an Encyclical Epistle to all the Bishops of the Christian World, which no doubt is a very likely thing, if his univerfal Supremacy had been then as well known and as much talkt of, as these Men would make us believe; when as it is not in the least challenged, or any way intimated by Julius, so is it denyed by the Fastern Bishops, as an utter overthrow of the known Discipline of the Christian And whereas he cited them to appear before the Council at Rome, that was by virtue of their own voluntary Appeal, when they had refer'd them-

themselves and their Cause to that Council, for it was fummon'd only at their Request and importunity. Now after all this that was done purely to gratifie themselves, first wholly to baulk and decline the Council, and then whilft it was Sitting, and the Cause depending, that they had put to reference, to pass Judgment upon it themselves, was fuch a piece of foul dealing, as is not to be endured in common Converfation. And that is the very thing that Julius himself charges upon them in Answer to their objection against him for intermedling with their Affairs, not that they affronted his Supremacy, but that when they had put him to the trouble of fummoning a Council, and while the matter was under Examination, they should put such a flur upon it, as meerly to fleal away the cause that themselves had seem'd so much concern'd, after fo many Contests, to refer to its final determination on.

And in truth the whole business was so involved by the Craft of Eusebius from the time of the Tyrian Council, that Athanasius, which way soever he turn'd to clear his Innocence, found himself inspared by the Canons themselves. For as

he was deposed in Council, so he could not be Canonically restored but by Council: and that is it they press upon him notwithstanding the Emperour's Restitution, in that though he had power to call him from banishment, yet he had none to take off the Cenfure of the Church. And the Plea had held good if there had not been fo much and fo exorbitant Villany at the bottom, though by it we may fee, by laying one ill Action for a Foundation, what a vast Pile of Dishonesty may be built upon it. For granting the Sentence of the Tyrian Council to be good ( as it would have been, had it not been so enormously base ) Athanafius was, which way foever he moved, catch't in the Canons, and therefore in all his Pleadings he is fo wife as to refer his whole Cause to the Acts of that Council, and that at last got him the Victory by making known their Villany. But granting them Valid, his Restitution by the Emperour was Canonically void. as to any exercise of his Episcopal Function, and that was the point that they urged to the Emperour Constantius in order to his Second banishment, but fearing left if he should make enquiry into the whole matter, all their Forgeries should come to light, they carry their Cause a great

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great way off, as far as Rome, and that with a mighty shew of fair dealing and ingenuity on their part, that they were fo far from defiring any partial Judgment; that they would refer it to Judges utterly unconcern'd, and therefore fend it into the other Empire. And now when this was done with fo much plaufibility, Eu-Tebius all on the fuddain huddles up a Council at home, and difbatches the bufiness before the Council at Rome could publish their Sentence; and by that trick he very artificially enfconst himself and his Cause in a new Quarrel, that would engage one half of the Christian Church on his fide. For now it was become the Quarrel of the Eastern Church against the Western, because when they had fentenced a Cause at Antioch, what power had they to reverse the Decree at Rome. This must be an Invasion of the Liberties of the Oriental Church, and no less then an Attempt to bring them into fubjection to the Western Bishops, and thus were they all drawn in by this Crafty Man to back his own Quarrel. And therefore it is observable that this Cause was ever after managed by this very pretence, and it was the very Complaint of the En febian Bishops, that parted from Sardica and fat at Philippi, against the Sardican Count

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Council, that they endeavour'd to introduce a new Law, that the Eastern Bishops should be subject to the judgment of the Western. And thus by this Artifice did this subtle man remove his Tyrian Villany out of the sight, and then he might go forwardwithout sear or danger, for nothing else but the discovery of that could ever expose himself, ruine his Cause,

and defeat his Malice.

But the most cunning Stratagem of all was that at the fame time that they proceeded with fo much feeming Christian Severity against Athanasius, they either Enacted or Ratified fo many excellent Laws of Discipline, that yet were but so many Snares to Athanahus and his Friends after his Tyrian deposition, especially the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth. In the fifth it is decreed that if a Presbyter refuse to Communicate with his Bishop, he shall after three Admonitions be deposed forever, and be punisht by the Civil Magistrate as a Seditious Person, a very good Canon in it felf, but at that juncture of time it was only a Rod for the Orthodox Clergy of Alexandria, who the Eusebians too well knew, would peremptorily refuse all Communion with their new Bishop Gregory, that was thrust upon them by this Council and a Military Force in

the place of Athanafius their true and lawful Bishop. In the eleventh and twelfth Canons all Appeals from Ecclefia stical Censures to the Emperour are strictly forbidden under pain of Deposition, and it is farther provided that if any Bishop be Synodically deposed, he is not to be restored but by a greater Synod of Bishops. This reach't Athanasius to the quick for his flying from the Tyrian Council to Constantine, and withal cut off his Restitution by the Imperial Mandate. Now these had been good Laws in ordinary Cases, but in the Case of Athanasius they were nothing but Rods and Snares: And fo it is always, when injustice has got the upper hand, the Execution of Laws then becomes nothing but Tyranny and Oppression. If the Proceedings against Athanasius at Tyre had been any way fair and legal, though he had been hardly used, yet his Appeal was against the Ecclefiaftical Rule, and it would have been more decent and becoming Christian Modesty, to have sate down under an hard Sentence, then to have made a breach upon the Order and Discipline of the Church. But when it was all rank Villany and open Forgery contriv'd on purpose to take away his life, it was then proper for him to take Sanctuary in the justice

justice of his Sovereign Prince for a common Subjects Protection. And indeed wherever injustice is become shameless and enormous, men are not bound to that punctual niceness of Rule, that they are bound to observe in common and ordinary Cases. And so it was here their Proceedings at Tyre were fo prodigiously base and impudent, that they exceeded the common Villany of Mankind. and fo were by their own wickedness put out of the Protection of the Laws. I have the longer infifted upon this Transaction because it is an extraordinary Case, and has nothing like it in all the Records of the Church in the worst and most degenerate times, and though there have been feveral of the later Popes both wicked and cunning enough, yet none of them could ever match either the Malice or the Artifice of Eusebius in the management of his Contest with Athanahus. But whilft he was contriving and plotting his designs against him at Antioch, the Council at Rome proceeds to a fair Tryal, and after the Examination of the Acts of the Tyrian Council, and of divers Witnesses clearing Athanasius from the Calumnies fast ned on him, they pronounce him innocent, receive him to Communion, and restore him to his Bifhop-

shoprick. And thus are they according to the Plot of Eusebius engaged in a new War, that he knew would fwallow up the old Controversie, of which the two heads were the two great Bishops of the two great Imperial Cities, Julius of Rome, and Eusebius of Constantinople, for before this time he had violently thrust himself into that See, and these were the first Seeds of that long War between these two ambitious Sees, that I have described at large in a former Treatife. But Athanafius leaves them to manage their own Fray between themselves, and makes all hast to repair to his own Church of Alexandria, where he arrives before Gregory could come from Antioch, to the great joy of the City, but foon after comes Gregory. and what havock he made by the affistance of Philagrius the Prefect an Apostate Christian, may be seen at large in Athanasius his encyclical Epistle to the Orthodox Bishops, and as he describes it. it exceeds all the Heathen Persecutions in rudeness and barbarity. But in short, Athanasius is forced to fly for his life, and takes Sanctuary at Rome a second time. where he knew himself safe, as being out of Constantins his Dominions. And about the same time the Popes Legates Elpidius and Philoxenus, having been from

from time to time retein'd and delayed by the Craft of Enfebius, return from the Council of Antioch, as with no fatisfaction to themselves, having been Eye-Witnesses of so much foul dealing, so with an huffing and scornful Letter of Defiance to their Master Pope Julius and all the Bishops of the Western Church. And by that Character that Julius gives of it in his answer to it ( for the Letter it felf is not now extant ) it breaths the very Spirit of Eusebius: but as taunting as it was, and as bad as their Actings were, he is forced to return a milder Answer then indeed was fitting, because he too well knew that they relyed upon the power and affiftance of the Emperour to bear them out in their Enormities. But as civilly as he treats them, he deals as plainly with them as they deferved, and unravels the whole Plot of Lves, Perjuries, and Calumnies against Athanafius from the beginning to that very day, and fo plainly lays open to the Christian World the foulness of all their Proceedings, as to demonstrate to all men, that notwithstanding they had endeavoured to get the Canons on their own fide by shifts and juglings, they had most feandaloufly broke all the most Sacred and inviolable Laws, not only of Christian Difcis Ffz

Discipline, but of common honesty. Epistle it self is extant in Athanafius his fecond Apology and it is a perfect Narrarive of his Cause and defence of his Innocence, written with equal judgment and fmartnefs. It is large, but the main head of it is in Answer to their great complaint that they should be cited to Rome. To which he replyes, that in some cases it is agreeable to the Canons, that what is determined by one Council, should be reviewed in another; but however that was, he minds them that when they fent their Agents, after they had been pleafed to refer the Cause to him, to manage the Evidence against Athanasius, they were to shamefully baffed in the whole business. that they had no way left to escape a final overthrow, but by moving for a general Council of Eastern and Western Bishops to be held at Rome; and now when the Council was call'd at their motion to pretend offence at its being call'd, as it argued very great Guilt in themfelves, so it could not but raise very odd fuspitions in others. And whereas they plead it as an Universal Rule, that what is determined in one Council ought not to be reverst by another, he asks them how then dare you to alter the Faith of the Great Nicene Council, that when the

the Bishops of the Christian World were fo unanimously concern'd to root out the Arian Herefie, they should so far slight their Authority as to reject those Provisions that they had made against it. And lastly (to pass by their smaller Cavils) he lets them fee the necessity of this review. by ripping up all the Villanies of the Tyrian Plot, and fo plainly discovers the gross dishonesty of the whole matter, as must make them cautious of ever reviving it for the time to come. And the Story is told fo fully, so plainly, and so reflectingly upon the Persons Guilty, that perhaps it was the dishonour of this Conviction that broke Eusebius his proud heart, for he dyed 116.2. c.12. foon after this, though Socrates fays he dyed before, but this Historian is all along miferably mistaken in the Chronology of the 'Athanafian Story, and his Errors of that kind are fo numerous, that † Learned Men are forced to reject his + Socratis Testi- Vales. ob-Testimony as of no monium in rebus serv. Eccles. Authority. All the cer- Athanafii nulli- & Sozem. tain account that we us ponderis est, 1. 1. c. 6. have of the time of quippe qui pug-

Eusebius his death is nantia inter se from Athanafius him- dixerit atq; confelf, who only fays traria. that he dyed after the Ff 3

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Council at Rome, and before the Council at Sardica, and that agrees exactly with the time of Julius his Letters, which could not but strike him to the heart. For by this Epiftle he faw all his wickedness brought to light, and his malice against Athanasius after so much pains and fo many deep contrivances, miserably defeated. And so dved one of the worst Bishops that ever lived in the Christian Church, and Baronius his Character of him in comparing him to Ahab is very just and true, though he saw not through half his wickedness, that there was none like him before or fince, who fold himself to the practice of all wickedness in the fight of the Lord; though Valefius is of the mind that he dyed a good Christian, and wonders at the Cardinals feverity against him, when he dyed in the Communion of the Roman Church. And that is too much the common fense of the men of that Church, that whatever men are as to all other things, yet if they are but good Roman Catholicks they are good Christians too. But if he dyed in its Communion, it was because he lived no longer in it, for if he had furvived till all his Train of Wickedness had been made publick to the Christian World, as they would have been in a little time,

not only the Bishop of Rome, but all the Bishops of the World must have denved all Communion to fo great a Villain.

This is the exactest Narrative of all this Affair, that I can discover either by tracing and comparing the Relations out of the Antients of it, or the Observations of the Moderns upon it. Valefius indeed observ. Echas used great subtilty to tell the Story a- cles. in Soc. nother way. As if Athanafius had been but 50%. once at Rome, and that there had been but one Council held there about his Business. and that both were after the return of the Legates from the Council of Antioch, and that it was then that Athanahus was first absolved. But in my poor Opinion this learned man might very well have spared his pains, when it is so plain from Julius his Letter that Athanasius had been absolved by him before he received the Letter from Antioch, and that one of the main heads of the Antiochian Letter was to complain of Julius his irregularity in restoring a man to Communion, that they had Excommunicated. And yet Valefius fays he can find no fuch thing in the Letter, and thus it is a common thing when men are busie in searching after small matters that are difficultly to be discern'd, to stumble at fuch great things as they could not but at another time have observed. For

For otherwise nothing can be plainer then that Athanahus was Canonically absolved before the Antiochian Letters, for when they complain'd that Julius had received him to Communion, that is proof enough of his Absolution, for without that, having been once excommunicate, he could not have been received to Communion. And therefore it is but a poor shift of Valefius to help out his niceness, that Pope Julius received him as he did the Eulebians de bene esse till he could enquire into the merits of the Cause. For the Eusebians were under no Sentence, and therefore were to be received in course, but Athanafius being under Censure, he could not be received till that was taken off. But this is still more evident from the account that Julius gives of the reasons of his Proceedings, viz. that having taken an exact Examination of all the particular Accusations against Atbanasius (and fo reckons up the Calumnies and Perjuries one by one ) heasks them which was most agreeable to the Canons, to Condemn him, as they had done, or abfolve him as he had done. And if after all this, admitting an Accused Person to Communion be not absolution upon legal Process,I know not what is. And if it is, then the Story hitherto runs clear as I have fet it down,

down, but by Valefus his over-nice account it is so involved, that I must confess that I cannot trace the Method of the History by it, nor reconcile it with the Accounts of the Antients.

6. XII. But Eusebins being dead, matters were very little alter'd or amended by his fall, for his five Confederates, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Calcedon, Theodorus of Heraclea, Vrfacius and Valens facceeded him in the Emperours favour and the management of all Affairs. And, if it were possible, these Commissioners Acted with greater violence in deposing and banishing of Bishops then the old Tyrant had ever done, infomuch that we immediately find feveral of the Eastern Bishops in Exile, and particularly Paul of Constantinople, who, poor man! was all along fecond to Athanafius in the Eufebian Perfecution, and had fuffer'd almost as much from the Ambition of Eulebius as Arhanahus had from his malice For Paul having been Canonically chosen Bishop of Constantinople, Eusebius had a strong fancy to his Bishoprick, and therefore gets Macedonius one of Paul's Presbyters, a man of a very factious and fiery temper, to bring in a general Accufation against him for an ill liver, ws was Bestwares, upon which meer formality of a general Charge without enquiring after any particular proofs, he is thrust out of his See and Eusebius immediately leaps into it. Though here the lying Philo-

fucceeded upon the death of Alexander, and suppresses the foul Story of Paul's ex-

pulsion; but Sandius though he takes notice of it, is either fo foolish or so impudent as to make use of the Calumny as a just Accusation against the good man at this very day, and brings no other Authority for it, because he durst not build upon the Testimony of Macedonius, but that of ut aiunt, i.e. as it is reported, which is much worfe, especially when all good men ever report him to have been a very Religious and Pious Prelate; and even Macedonius himself at the very time that he Accused him, for form-sake to oblige Eusebius, is well known to communicate with him, which he ought not to have done, had he believed his own Accufation. By fuch little shufflings as these we may see how dully and slightly these Arian Advocates prevaricate with the Records of the Church. But to proceed, upon the death of Eusebius, the Constantinopolitans fetch home Paul, against whom the Eusebian Faction set up that Firebrand Macedonius, this brings the

the matter to high Tumults, upon which Constantius being then at Antioch, fends Hermogenes Master of his Horse to Constantinople to force Paul out of the City. but the Rabble taking head, he is unfortunately murthered in a Tumult, to the great scandal and dishonour of their Cause, for which Paul, as if he good man had been the Author of the Sedition. is banisht and imprisoned, and kept in Chains till Constantius was forced to deliver him together with the other banisht Bishops for fear of his Brother Constans, who threatned War upon him if he did not restore them, and so the good man quietly enjoyed his Bishoprick all the Reign of Co-stans, but upon his death, the Eusebiansbeing back't with the great power of the 5 Commissioners grew more furious then ever, & prevail with Constantius to banish Paul again, neither would that content them, but he is kept in close Prifon at Cuculus in Cappadocia, to be starved to death. & at last because after six days fasting they find him alive they strangle him.

Having laid the Story of this poor injur'd man together, I return back to our new Commissioners, who finding that though they had framed four several Creeds, in their first Council at Antioch, none of them would satisfie the Western

Bishops

to the same City in the Year 344, and draw up a long new Creed, for the most part consisting of Anathema's against all

Branches of the Arian Herefie, and fend it to the Western Bishops then Assembled at Milan, but they unanimously reject it, for this very reason, that they were refolved to acquiesce in the Decrees of the Nicene Council, and not be so curious as after the Authority of their determination, to make any farther enquiry; though 1.2. p. 83. learned Mr. Sandius fays, they laid it afide, because it being written in Greek, they understood it not; a wife account of a Transaction of the Christian Church, that they corresponded in an unknown Language, and understood not one another, though they answer'd each others Papers and gave very good reasons for their difagreement, particularly the offence of Innovation. And there all along fluck the Controversie with the Orthodox Bishops, that they thought themfelves bound to abide by the Decree of that great Council, and out of Reverence to its Authority would never hear of any Alteration. And that is the great Charge with which Athanafius perpetually loads the Eusebians, that for that very reason they could not be in the right in

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in their belief, because they opposed themselves to the Faith of the Nicene Fathers.

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But Julius Bishop of Rome finding things grow worse, and the Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches made daily wider, he Petitions the Emperor Constans to move his Brother Constantius to join with him for a general Council, to which Constantius agrees, and the most Convenient place pitch't upon for their Meeting was Sardica in Illyricum, being the Confines of both the Empires, where in the year 347 met at the time appointed 280 Western, and 76 Eastern Bishops. But they are no fooner met, then they break in pieces; for the Eastern Bishops refuse to fit unless Athanasius and the other Parties Accused may be first removed out of the Council; whereas the Western will have them treated (as they ought to be ) as innocent Persons till they are Canonically Convicted. Upon this, after divers inter-messages the Easterns forfake the City, and fit at Philippopolis; and it is more then likely that they never came with any defign of agreement, and pick't this quarrel only to baulk the Council. And this is roundly charged upon them by the Council it felf, in their Encyclical Epistle, extant in Atha-

Athanasius his second Apology, as done by Compact; the Passage is very remarkable, and because it is so, though it be fornewhat long, I shall give the Reader the fense of it, as briefly as I can: 'It is not without cause that these Men, though often cited, would never appear, but by their constant shifting a ' fair hearing through the guilt of their 'own Conscience, confirm'd both the 'fuspition of their own forgeries, and gave ground to believe that the Accu-' fations against themselves were but too 'true. And therefore because beside this ' shuffling, they have not only restored 'but advanced fuch as were Deposed for the Arian Herefie, in which defign ' the chief Men after Eusebius, Theodorus of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias in Cilicia, Stephanus of Antioch, George of · Laodicea, Acacius of Cafarea in Palestine, Menaphantus of Ephesus, Vrsacius of Singido in Myfia, and Valens of " Mursa in Panonia are now the chief ' Ring-leaders. These Men therefore suf-' fer'd not any of those who came with them out of Aha to Communicate with 'the Church here, or fo much as to come to the Council, and in their journey call'd feveral Meetings in the Form of Councils, in which they by their threat

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threat'nings forced the Company to enter into a Solemn Covenant among themselves, that when they come to Sardica they should peremptorily re-'fuse the Authority of the Council, and never appear before it, or fit in it; but as foon as they came thither, when they had made a formal shew of appearance; should immediately vanish. 'This Treachery is attested by Macarius of Palestine, and Asterius of Arabia, 'who were all along present at their proceedings, and who being offended at so much baseness, discover'd to the 'Council at their first coming, under ' what force they were detain'd, and with what wickedness things were to 'be managed. Adding withal that there were great numbers of Orthodox Bi-'shops in their parts, but that these 'Men kept them at home by force, and 'with the bloodiest threat'nings if they should dare to appear; and for all pos-'fible Security of all that came, they obliged them all to lodge in the same 'house, that so no Man might any way be ticed and drawn away from the 'Conspiracy. So far the Council, and nothing more evident all along then that the Eusebians dreaded nothing more then a fair hearing of the Indictments of their

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their own framing; and therefore by all the Arts and Methods of disingenuity broke all Opportunities that were offered them for it. So that though they were forced to make an Appearance at Sardica, by the Emperor's Command, yet they came with this resolution, never to suffer the matter to come to any Issue: And withal finding themselves so over numbred that they could not obstruct it, they wisely take per and quit the Council.

But the Western Bishops for all that proceed, and reduce the Debate to these three Heads (as they have drawn it up in their Epistle to Pope Julius.) First, The settlement of the Faith. Secondly, The Examination of Witnesses, that had been illegally rejected in sormer Councils. 3dly, An enquiry after all those various injuries, and violences that had been done to the Orthodox Clergy by the Eusebians.

As to the first, It is unanimously Voted to frame no new Creed, but to acquiesce in the sufficiency of the Nicene Faith.

As to the Second, They unravel all the Forgeries and Tergiversations of the Eusebians in former Councils, and in an Encyclical Epistle certifie all the Bishops of the Christian World of the several Perjuries that had been made use of, to raise an Accusation against Athanasius and other Orthodox Bishops; and then of their

their leveral dilingenuous and diffioned Methods, to Shift the proof of their own Indictment, particulary of their running away from their own Appeal to Julius Bishop of Rome, but most of all of their awkerd behaviour in this Council where they would not be prevailed with by any importunity or intreaty aton proceed to Tryal, which the Council imputes not only to their knowledge of the defect of their Accusations against others, but to the Conscience of their own guilt.' Seeing great numbers of Persons there present, that were ready to testifie of their various Cruelties, and tell fad Stories of their Imprifoning, Banilhing, Beating, Starving, Strangling Perfons in Holy Orders, only for refufing to Communicate with the Arian Hereticks. And though the Criminals refuled to appear, the Witnesses were Examined, and they Deposed, and both the Emperors written to, that their Majesties would be pleased to set all such at liberty, that were still under restraint, and to order their Officers for the time to come, not to use any force or violenge against the Clergy for their Faith, but leave them first to be tryed by the Ecclesiastical Judicature.

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In the next place the whole Intrigue aminil Athanafius is re-examined, the Stories of Arfenius and Ischiras farther proved by fresh Witnesses, and so both himself and the rest of the Deposed and Banish't Bishops are restored, and the Intruders thrust not only out of their Sees, but out of the Communion of the Christian Church. And then in the last place they enact fome Rules of Discipline useful and almost necessary for the Present State of the Church, as against the practice of Eufebius and other Bishops of the Faction, that invade other Mens Bishoprieks, and though such Offenders were only fent back to their own Sees by the Canon of the Nicene Council. this Council is fo fevere as not only to Depose but Excommunicate them, so as not to be capable of being admitted to Lay-Communion even at the hour of death. Another Canon they made a-gainst the wandring of Bishops, and that reach't Vrfacius and Valens, who left their own Diocesses to carry on the Eufebian Faction in other Provinces. A third Canon was, That if a Bishop were oppress't by his Com-provincials, he might have leave to make his complaint to the Bishop of Rome, who might judge whether he ought to have a new hearing

ing or not, and this (belide fome fecret reasons) was to relieve the Eastern Bithops from the Oppression of the Eulebians, who carried all before them by Though the Roforce and foul dealing. manists will have it to have been made particularly to justifie Athanasius in his Appeal to Rome; but beside that if it were true, it would do their Cause no fervice; it is certain that Athanahus made not the Appeal himself, but that his Cause was first referr'd thither by the Eusebians, and that too with no other defign then to remove it as far as they could from their own doors for fear of discovery.

6. XIII. But as vigoroufly as the Western Bishops proceeded at Sardica, the Eastern out-stript them at Philippopolis, they first take to themselves the Title of the Council at Sardica, they draw up a new Confession of Faith, and call it the Sardican Creed, in which they Anathematife all the Positions of Arius, and only omit the word Consubstantial. And as for Athanasius they cunningly load him with the Authority of the Tyrian Council, and the Sentence of Constantine upon it, Qui omnia ejus flagitia recognoscens shà illam sententià in exilium deportavit, Gg 2 Who

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Who examining into all his Crimes, banish't him by his own Sentence, as they blush not to aver, as if the abused Emperor had been acquainted with all the juglings of that Council, when it was their only care to keep their proceedings altogether in the dark from him. from this they proceed to infer Atbanafius being condemn'd by the Suffrage of fo many Bishops, and the Judgment of the Emperor, it was now but a trick to move for a new Tryal, when to many of the Judges, Acculers, and Witnesses were dead, and therefore they must have the old Sentence allowed and ratified before they would act, least (as they plead ) They should bring in that prophane Innovation, Quam horret vetus consuetudo Ecclesia, ut in concilio Orientales Episcopi quicquid forte statuisent, ab Episcopis Occidentalibus refricaretur & vice versa, That the Ancient Custom of the Church abbors, that the Decrees of the Eastern Church Should be reversed by the Western, and so on the contrary. That was the point they would still be at, that whatever was done in the Fastern Church should not be submitted to the Judgment of the Western Bishops, and then that fecured the Authority of the Tyrian Council, and as long as that flood firm.

firm, fo did their Caufe too. But to make short work of it (for there are vast numbers of odd casts of disingenui-ty in their Epistle ) they Excommunicate Athanastus, Paul of Constantinople. Julius of Rome, Ofius, Marcellus, and all that had any hand in the Absolution of Athanasius, and this they signifie in an Encyclical Epiftle written in the Name of the Council of Sardica, to their friends in all Parts of the World; and among many others it is directed to Donatus the Schismatical Bishop of Carthage, Gratus the Catholique Bishop of that City, with 36 other African Bishops being prefent at the Council of Sardica, and joining with it against the Philippopolitans, who therefore think to strengthen their Party, by courting the Schismaticks to their fide. And among other fweet flowers flatter them with their own dear Expression, viz. That they durst not join with the Sardican Council, Ne proditores fidei Traditoresque Scripturarum dicamur; Lest we should be esteemed Traytors of the Faith, and Traditors of the Scriptures; thereby Infinuating an approbation of their Schilm from the Catholicks upon that pretence. And this took fo fuckily, that the Schifmatiques pleaded it in the days of St. Auftin, to prove Gg 3

prove that they had ever been in Communion with the Eastern Church. But. both parties having done the business, that they came about, especially the Eusebians, whose only project it was to shun the Council, and make the breach more general with the whole Western Church. they break up their Assembly, and whereever they come put to death all that refuse Communion with them, particularly they make a great Massacre at Adrianaple, where they cut off the Bishop's hands, and after that his head, with innumerable other outrages recited by Athanasius in his Epistle to the Monks. But as for the Sardican Council, having fettled things as well as they could, they acquaint both the Emperors with the Issue of their Proceedings, and fend three Bishops Arm'd with Letters from the Emperor Constans to his Brother Constantius to intercede for the restitution of the banish't Bishops. But whilst they attended the Emperor at Antioch, Stephen the Eusebian Bishop of that place by his Instruments, conveighs a common Strumpet by night flark naked into the Chamber of Euphratas, that was the most eminent Man of the Embassy, and famous for his great Vertue and Piety; but the Woman who expected some debauch't 17010

Note that this foul Story is earefully omitted by Sandius, p. 85. (455)

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bauch't young Gallant for her Companion, as foon as fhe faw the grave old Bishop asleep, and altogether ignorant of the matter, being furprised, and with-al confounded with his venerable look, cries out fo loud of the abuse, and force put upon her as made a disturbance in the Court, and fo the whole business came to light, and Stephen is found guilty of the Contrivance, and is by the Emperour's own special Command thrust out of his Bishoprick. And this was the first thing that opened his Eyes, though they foon closed again, for by this ( fays Athanasius ) he was induced to suspect spil. ad the like Villanies against my felf, and the other abused Bishops, and so recalled us all from banishment. Though the Historians say he was compelled to it by his Brother Constans, who threatned War upon him at a time when his Affairs were in a low condition, and his Empire in danger to be lost to the Perfians. This might and no doubt did quicken him, but the first thing that fet his thoughts awork was this difcovery, if we may believe Athanafius, who was in a little time restored to his favour and familiar Conversation, and had opportunity to understand his mind. For Gregory that was thrust into the Gg 4

Sandius is filent here

See of Alexandria dying within Ten Months after the Sardican Council. Athanasius is importun'd by Letter upon Letter from Constantius, to come to Court in order to his restitution, and it is a great while before he will truft him. after the Experience of fo many Treacheries; but having all the Security that the Word or the Oath of a Prince could give him, he at length repairs to Antioch, where the Emperor then lay in attendance upon his Persian War, and where he is entertained by him with mighty kindness and friendship, and at last dismist with his own commendatory Letters to Alexandria, and affured by the most Sacred and Solemn Promises, That for the time to come he will never give Ear to any Tales and Stories against him, And at his parting only makes this request, that of that vast number of Churches that were under his Jurisdiction, he would be pleased to grant one for the use of those who dissented from him; Athanasius replies, That he is ready to obey all his Majesties Commands, only he requests the same favour for the Diffenters at Antioch, i. e. the Orthodox, who would rather fet up a separate Communion, then Communicate promiscuoully with the Arians, as the Eusebians did.

did This request was so reasonable that the Emperor could not deny it; but the Eusebians immediately stifle the motion, as well knowing that they should loose more by this liberty to the Orthodox at Antioch, then they should gain to themselves or their Cause by granting it to the

Arians at Alexandria.

And fo the banisht Bishops are restored to to their feveral Sees, and they quietly enjoy them till the unfortunate death of the Emperour Constans, who in the year 350, was barbaroully murthered by his Rebel Nave Magnentius, who was the first man pretending to Christianity, that ever thought of Rebelling against his Sovereign Prince, though it is Evident, that he was at best but a counterfeit Christian, in that as foon as he had got the Empire he endeavoured the Restitution of Idolatry, as appears from the Law of Constan- De Paganis. tius to abolish the night facrifices, that 1.5. (as Theodoret informs us were made for the dead ) that were allowed by Magnentius, contrary to the Law of Constantine the Great, who had taken them quite away. And Athanafus affirms, (that he in Apolag. was much addicted to Magicians and In-tium. chantments, and for the fame reason is he commended by Libanius in his Funeral Oration upon Julian, that though he

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he was a restorer of the Laws, by which the Heathens understood the old Religion, that had been supprest by the Christian Emperors. But what do we talk of his being an Heathen, when he was \*v. Julia. \* by the Character that all the Historini Grat. ad ans of all fides give of him, scarce a Bruse, cruel and bloody in all his Actions, sparing nothing in his rage, nor scarce out of it, inhumane in his very luxury, and at last completing all the Villanies of his life in the murder of his Family, and (perhaps to expiate all the rest) in his own. But Athanasius having lost his Patron before he recovered Alexandria, the Eusebians threaten him afresh, so that Constantius himself was forced to write him Letters of encouragement and give him new affurances of fecurity. Upon which he goes forward and is in all places. received with all the expressions of joy and triumph, and in a little time is faluted with Communicatory Letters from above 400 Bishops, and his Enemies everywhere fall upon their knees before him and implore his Pardon, particularly those two vile wretches Valens and Vrfacius confess themselves perjur'd Villains, do publick Penance in a Council at Mi-

lan and then before the Bishop of Rome,

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Land declare to all the World under Hand and Seal that all those foul Accusations that were forged against Athanafus, were meer falsehoods of their own contrivance to take away his life. but though all this be attested by such clear and inevitable Records, yet our

† ε-μευσάμεθα, και τροίο 673.
παντια τα πατώ
Α'θανασίν συκοφαντίας γίμει,
Μεπτίτί Jumus
finximus, & omnia que Athanafio objecta fuere,
calumnià (carent.

faithful Arian Historians are so true to their own Story as wholly to overlook it. But this dishonourable submission does but make the Party more outragious and implacable, and they resolve that though Athanafius had hitherto escaped all their Snares, that they will have his blood at last, and therefore they only sit still a little while to hatch new matter for Calum-And that was foon done, for whereas the Rebel Magnentins had fent Ambaffadours to treat with Constantius, or rather if it were possible mediate his Peace, two of them were French Bishops, with whome Athanafus had contracted acquaintance at the Council of Sardica, and now he treats his old friends in their passage at Alexandria, that is immediately made High Treason, and he is Accused

of keeping Correspondence with Magnenvius against the Emperour, though our Arian Historians are here to fubtle too as to take no notice of this pallage, because the Calumny was afterward to shamefully baffed by Athanafius, as we shall fee in its due place. But however by this and the like devices they once more enrage the Emperour against him, though he is forced to dissemble his displeasure, tilf he fees the Event of the War. In the mean time Julius Bishop of Rome dyes. and Liberius succeeds, to whom Letters are fent by the Eufebians in the East to. joyn Communion with them against Athanafius, and others from Athanafius and the African Bishops to enter into Communion with them against the Easterns. Liberius at first, being ignorant of his Case, denyes Athanasius, but at length upon better Information, rejects the Easterns and Communicates with the Africans. But this was fuch an affront to their haughty Spirits, that they ever after studied and watch't for Revenge against him as diligently as they ever did against Athanafius. And Liberius forefeing that they would raife a Storm upon him; dispatches away his Legates to the Emperour to Petition for a Council, but before they came the Emperour was little.

tle better then mad, for though at the Battel with Magnentins he was for far for far ken of all Courage, that he had not fo much hardiness as but to behold the Fight, but retired into a Vault with his worthy Confessor Valens Bishop of the place, who had the craft to fet his Spyes to bring him the first News of the event of the Battel, that fo he might endean himself to the Emperor, by being the Messenger of so good News, if things went right: But if wrong that then he might fave himfelf in the first place either by flight or by betraying his Mafter to the Rebel, for Men of his Principles can never boggle at any Treachery. But so it happened that Magnentias his Army being put to an utter Rout, that he had that timely intelligence of it, that he had laid by his Spyes. Whereas the Emperour and his Eunuchs a fort of Men that were his great Favourites and infeparable Companions, not having the courage fo much as to look out of their hole, could suspect nothing of the Messengers Arrival; and therefore Valens to add worthip to himself, like a Villain as he was, pretends that the Mellage was brought him by an Angel, and the poor Emperour in that had pickle in which he then lay, gladly and greedily believed any thing that was for his own safe, and imputed the Victo-

ry more to the merits of that Atheistical wretch then to the Courage of his Army. All which Sandius, though he carefully baulkt the Confession of his reiterated Periuries, fets down with great gravity for a ferious truth, as if God had miraculoufly interposed his Power at the Prayers of fo great a Villain. But the Emperour being so suddainly delivered from the horrour of his own fears by his Information, he for his fake grew much more fond of the Eusebian Faction then he had ever been, and withal grew to that fottish infolence as to forget his own frailty, writing himself my Eternity, and concluded that God Almighty approved all his past Actions by bleffing him with fo much fuccess as to make him Lord of the whole World, upon which Lucifer Calaritanus writ his Book of the Apostate Kings of Ifrael, to prove that worldly Properity was not entailed on the Pious, but that the worst of the Race met with as much Prosperity in this World as the good and the religious. Upon this new encrease of Insolence the Shops of Calumny (as Zosimus expresses it) were opened anew, and though it had been a thriving commodity all his Reign, yet now it doubled its Price, and the Eufebians by flattering him in the grofness of his

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P. 94.

his folly, got the entire management of So that when he understood that Liberius had denyed Communion with them and entered into League with Athanafius, he is all turn'd into rage, and notwithstanding all his former Oaths and Promises, he sets out an Edict requiring all Christian Bishops to Excommu-

ל או שמסעףמינו-

דב א דשע פאאאים-

סושי מימצשףפו-

Solit. p. 829

Epift, ad

nicate Athanafius, † upon pain of deposition, About which time Arrived the Popes Legates, and when they came to treat with the Enfebians or Court

Bishops, they refuse all

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manner of dispute about the Faith, and the only point they stand upon, is the Excommunication of Athanasius, and by the help of the Emperours threatnings prevailed fo far upon them, that at length they subscribed his Condemnation. Upon which Liberius immediately dispatches away new Legates, of whom Lucifer Calaritanus was chief, whose zealous temper he might fafely trust, and they prevail for a Council at Milan, but because of the death of Gallus and other incumbrances of the Emperours Affairs, it was not fummon'd till the year following, viz. An. Dom. 355. And when they met, Constantius being now resolved to quell the

the Athanafians, carries all things by Force and Violence, So that the Legates refuled to fit, and fo did Enfebius of Verfelles who was joyned with them, but they are commanded into the Council by the Emperour, where Eusebius at his first entrance throws down the Nicene Faith upon the Table, and tells them that he will comply with all other things, if they will but secure that, Dyonifus Bi-Thop of Milan takes it up and offers to Subscribe, but Valens ( who now with his Companion Vrfacius were return'd to their old Trade of open Villany ) matches it out of his hand, and cryes out that it was none of the business of their meeting. This comes to a scuffle and that to a kind of Tumult, upon which the Eu'ebians according to their usual Craft leave the Council and meet at Court, where the Emperour in effect takes upon hanfelf the determination of all things, commands the Bishops to subscribe the Condemnation of Athanafius, banishes as many as refused, and when they pleaded in their own behalf against the Credit of the Testimony of Valens and Vrfacius, that were then and there his only Accusers he replyes, what is that to them, it is enough that himself was his Accuser, and therefore requires it of them at their utmost Peril,

Peril, by this means he gets 30 Subscriptions in all, then banishes two of the Legates and whips the third (in which worthy Exploit those worthy men Palens and Defaicus were the chief Actors ) endeavours to perswade Eusebius of Verfelles and Dionyfius of Milan to fubscribe. but they tell him that it is against the Canons, to which he replyes, † That his Will tomepena BEXOshall be the Canon. For עמו, דצידם אפיטי which rashness they νομιζέδω. boldly reprove him, but pift ad Solitar. he gives them no hearp. 831. ing, storms, rages, draws his Sword, fwears and curies them into This is the Story as it is told by the Ancients, but as Sandius tells it, it 1-2-1-11 was no more then this, that Athanafius was Condemn'd by the Unanimous Vote of the Bishops, Paulinus only excepted.

SXIV. Things having been thus violently transacted in Council, the Emperour resolves to follow his own will abroad with the same heat, and therefore lends his Commissioners into Africk to take subscriptions against Athanasius, with express Authority to banish all Abhorrers, and sends one of his Eunuchs, † πολλοι εξ μελλον δε πό ολόν είσ ix Εχνέχοι παρά Κωνςαντίω, και παντιω
δύναντωι παρ άυτω. χωρίς τε τέτω
είδεν έςιν έκει γένε
ωσι. Ερίβι. ad Sol.
p. 834.

† by whom he was chiefly managed, and who were the grand instruments of all these mischiefs, with bribes and threatnings to Liberias, to induce him to a Subscription, but he peremptorily refusing, is sent for by

force, and by the discourse that past be-1. 2. c. 16. tween them, which Theodoret has fet down at large, we may discover by what tricks and forgeries the Eusebians had all imposed upon him. The first thing is, that Albanafius must without any farther process be condemned, the Bishop replyes, that cannot be done according to Ecclesiastical Discipline, and therefore craves a Council. To this the Emperour rejoyns, that he already stands under Condemnation by the Tyrian Council. That was their Post, which if they quitted they loft all, and therefore when all other devices fail'd, it was their last Bo-Though here a Courtier, whether through ignorance, or to divert any farther discourse about the Tyrian Council, steps in and swears that he was deposed by the Council of Nice. To which the grave Bishop could make no other reply

ply then a fcornful fmile, and fo proceeds to represent the foul dealings of the Tyrian Council, the Forgeries and Recantations of Valens and Vifacius, but here he is again upon a dangerous point, and fo is again interrupted by the Courtiers with rude and impertinent reflections upon the drift of his discourse, and there is an end of all the Conference upon that point. The next great Jealousie that they had blown into the Emperours head was, that Athanafius had so little Wit, Manners, and Religion as to have made it a great part of his business to make bate between the Emperour and his Brother, and carried it on so effectually, that if Constantius had not very much restrain'd his own Passion, it had broken out into an open and Fatal War, and he is fo much possest with this jealousie, that he professes that the Victory over Magmentius (though he run mad for joy of it) was not more acceptable to him, then one over Athanafius would be. But to this the Bishop replyes, That if it were true, it was most proper for the Emperour to punish such an Offender at his own Tribunal, and not to force the Ecclesiastical Judicature to condemn a Perfon of any Crime unheard. But when nothing will do, he has his choice, eident Hhz ther

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ther to subscribe the Condemnation or leave his Bilhoprick. The first he peremptorily refuses, and so is banisht to Berea in Thrace, and Felix his Arch-Deacon put into his place. And here it is again ob-+ Theodoret servable + that Falix was no Arian him-4. 2. c. 17. felf, but a Stickler for the Nicene Faith. only allowing the Arians a capacity of Communion with the Church. And that is the thing that I affirm all along to have been the Eusebian Cause, not to restore Arianism, but to piece up the Peace of the Church by comprehending all in one Communion or by mutual forbearance. So that notwithstanding that vehement out-cry that has been hitherto made of the Universal Predominancy of Arianism under Constantius, especially at this very moment of time, Ido not find it hitherto fo much as own'd, nor any man preferr'd upon the account of his being an Arian. Auxentius, that was at this very time thrust into the place of Dionyfius of Milan, has as bad a Character as any man of the time, yet St. Hilary himself (though he were apt enough to make Arians by Confequences fays of him, that he always openly difclaim'd Arianism, though he suspects that it was because he durst not own it. to that whatever was at bottom, it is evident

dent that the Arian Herefie it felf in all this Controversie never appear'd at top, And those very Bishops that are reprefented as the most zealous Arians, were rather Atheifts then Heretiques. The Head and Founder of the Party was Eufebius of Nicomedia, and what a worthy Saint he was, already appears from the Tenour of his whole life. But when by his unfortunate favour at Court, he had got the Power of the Church into his own hands, especially the disposal of Bishopricks, and made that the only quatification for Preferment, to join with him and his malice against Athanafius; in this case it is no wonder if the vilest of Men flockt in to his Party in as great sholes, as Irish Evidences to a Plot. And fuch were Valens and Vrfacius, Men Educated in Villany, and fo hardened in their wickedness, that they were past shame at its very discovery, and when they could not stand out a Perjury, they would impudently confess it, and then ace it out, and ask Pardon with as little remorfe as modesty, and when they had unfworm a Perjury, they would the next opportunity fwear it all good again. And fuch an one was Epicletus, Athanas as he is described by Athanasius, a Neo-Epad solit.

phire, rath and daring, and therefore Hh 3 dear dear to Constantius, because he found hish prompt and dextrous at all manner of Wickedness, and so could by his help ensure what Bishops he pleased, for he would never stick at any thing, so it were but acceptable to the Emperour. And it is the same Character that is given of Cecropius and Auxentius, that they were Men of no worth, and prefer'd for no other merit then meerly their dexterity in wickedness to destroy good Men. And such an one was George of Cappadocia, who was thrust into the place of Athanasius, as he is described by Gregory Nazianzen his Countrey-man

1. laudibus Gregory Nazianzen his Countrey-man Athanafii. the most notorious Villain of the Age: See the same . He was a Monster bred up in the Borin Epiphan. ders of our Country, of an ill-bred, but Harif. 76. a worfe Temper, a Slave, and a waiter Marcel. 1. at other Mens Tables, and fo of no va-22. c. 11. hue; that he was fold for a Bushel of Corn, and by this baseness he was inured to do or fay any thing for Bread, till at length he crept into some publick Employment, though the vilet that could be, to be Hoggard to the Army, which he discharged with so much cheating and knavery that he was forseed to fly, and so wandred up and down the World till at length he fetled at Alexandria, where though he had made

an end of his Travels, he did but begin his mischiefs, and though he were contemptible in all points, of no Learning, no Wit, no Conversation, not so much as pretending to a shew of Piety. fit for nothing but to make mischief and disturbance, he outed so great a 'Man as Athanafius, and as vile a Wretch 'as he was, prefumed to get himself pla-'ced in his Episcopal Throne. And yet this very Wretch is vehemently recom- v, Athanas, mended to the Alexandrians by the Em- Apol. p.635. perour's own Letter, as one of the best B. & Ep. ad Divines in the World. So miferably did D. his Eunuchs abuse the good meaning of this poor Emperor, as to put the vilest of Men into the best of Preferments for Money; and as he got it, fo he used it, not like a Bishop, but a Publican, till his Oppressions cost him his life, for which he had the good fortune in the barbarous Ages of the Church to be Canonifed among the Principal Saints and Martyrs: For in all the timely Records of the Church, I can find no other St. George then this. And this was the peculiar miscarriage of this Emperour's unhappy Reign, that the Preferments were got into wicked hands, and then it is not to be doubted, but that wicked Men would get into the Preferments, and things Hh 4

W. Athenas, were so basely carried at last, that nobried soln thing seem'd to keep up the good old 1.810. B. Eusebian Cause, but the advantage that it gave ill Men for Ecclesiastical Plunder

and Sequestration.

But to return to the train of the Story, Liberius the Bishop of the great City being dispatcht, the last Enemy to be overcome was the great Hofus, that Father of Councils, who by reason of that high Authority that he had acquired in the Christian Church, both by his Age and Wisdom, was able by himself alone to keep up the Orthodox Faith against all the Power of the Emperor. And therefore he is Summon'd to Court, and courted to join in the Condemnation of Atbanafius, but he satisfied the Emperor fo well by his reasons to the contrary, that he is difmift with all Civility; but by the importunity of the Eunuchs, who feared that this escape would make an ill Precedent, he is immediately followed with a furious Epistle, commanding him to comply, or to expect the fortune of his Companions; to which the good old Man, nothing daunted, returns a bold but yet a civil Answer, lays before the Emperor at one view the whole Train of Villany against Athanasius, that had been to often proved, and then leaves it to himfelf

himself to consider, whether it became his Majesty at that time of the day to suffer himself to be made a Tool by such Perjur'd Wretches as Valens and Zirsacius, and so in short he denies all compliance, and desies his threatnings, and upon it he is immediately seized and conveyed to Sirmium, and there kept in custody till the meeting of a Council in that

City the year following.

And though the fury of the Emperour's, or rather his Eunuchs Perfecution in these European Parts, is here somewhat interrupted by the Incursions of the barbarous Nations into Gaul, yet he rages to much the more fiercely in Agypt, especially at Alexandria, sending Syrianus with some Legions of Soldiers to murther Athanafus, who belets his Church in the night, where the People were then Assembled, and are commanded by Athanahus in the Name of God to depart quietly, and himself by a kind of Miracle makes his escape through the body of the Soldiers that had encompaffed him at the Altar, but he being fled and lying conceal'd in the Deferts, Constantius is prevaild with to put that Learned Divine ( as he calls him ) George into his Room, but what a notorious Villain he had ever been is already described;

feribed; but now being got into Authority he commits all manner of outrages in the City, makes divers flaughters in the Churches themselves, imprisons Virgins, Widows and Orphans, feizes on the Orthodox Christians by night, and throws them into Goal; ejects all Bishops throughout Egypt and Lybia, that refuse to subscribe the Condemnation of Athangfius, and of thefe fome he banithes, others he imprisons, in fliort, he sweeps all away before him like a Landflood, and bears away all the Orthodox Clergy out of their Possessions in the Church, Athanafius reckons up no less then Ninty Bishops ejected in Agypt, whereof Sixteen were banisht. But the worft of all is still behind, their Bishopricks are fold to Heathens, Soldiers, or any Chapmen that would bid most Money for them; and fo all ill Men of what Profession or Religion foever, or rather of none at all, crowded into the Party for the purchase of a Bishoprick; and fo was the whole Church put into the hands of wicked and debauch't Men, who could do no fervice in it, but in the way of out rage and cruelty; and in fhort, the fury of this Perfecution through all Africk is described by Athanasius, not only to have equall d, but exceeded any

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of the Heathen Perfecutions, both for rudeness and cruelty. But still himself was the Man aim'd at in it all, great rewards are promised by publick Edicks to the Man that shall flay him, and blood-hounds are fent out into all Parts to fcent out his Form, but by a great wonder of Providence he lyes undifcovered all the time of Constantius. And in this retirement he did himself and the World that right, as to write those two excellent Discourses in his own Vindication, viz. his Epiffle to the Monks. and his first Apology to Constantius; in both which he has with that clearness of Reason, and evidence of Record laid open the wickedness of the Eusebians, in the contrivance of all his Troubles from the time of the Council of Nice to that very day, that it is not fo properly an History as a Demonstration, for he has related nothing that he has not proved by undeniable Records. And the truth of it is, he is the only valuable Historian of his own Actions, for all the Hiftorians are so confused in their account of him, that as they are not to be at all trusted when they differ from him, fo are they very little to be relied upon in any Report, that is not vouch't by his Authority and at any

6. XV. Thus far has this long Con-

Eufebians, and the Abettors of the Nicene Faith, but now the Arlan Caufe is again brought upon the Stage in another guile by Photinus Bishop of Sirmium, who revives the old exploded Herefie of Pan lus Samofatenus that differs from Arianism only in this one Circumstance. That it affirms the Son of God not to have been Created till the time of his Nativity; whereas Arius will have him to have been the first-born of all Creatures vet they both agree in the main Polion of the Herefle, That he was a Being Created out of Nothing, and then it is not much material in it felf, how foon or how late it was brought to pass "But vet however this new-vampt Hypothefis appearing more bold, and tending to bring down the Son of God into the fame rank with every ordinary Son of a Woman, whereas Aries allowed him great fhare in the Creation of the Universe, and an eminency of Power, and Dignity over all other Creatures. This therefore alarms all Parties, Catholicks and Eufebians, and a Council is call'd at Sirmium for its Condemnation. And here the Learned Petavius is as over-nice to diffurb

Animad, Epiph. ad beref. 73. Or differt. de Photini donnations. -

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diffurb the plain History of this Council. as I have shewn Valefus to have been in reforming the History of the Councilat Rome, and the Absolution of Athanastas. For as he there took a great deal of pains to make but one Council of two, so has our Learned Jesuite here to make two of one. For though there is mention of no more then one in all the Ancient Records of the Church, yet he has lately found out another that (he fays thas hitherto lain buried under the ruins of St. Hilary's Fragments; but alas they are to imperfect and confused, that nothing can with any affurance be built upon their fingle Testimony, much less upon remote inferences from them, which yet is all the light that this Learned Man is able to strike out of that Rubbish. Neither indeed is it tanti to spend fo much Learning upon fuch a lean and barren Enquiry, for whether there were two or one Sirmian Councils, they were call'd upon the same Errand, and (as I shall prove) were of the same mind, and what that is we sufficiently know by the Records of that which he would have to be the fecond, whereas the most that we can know of the first belide this, is only that there was fuch a Council, and if that be all, I cannot fee

fee what Temptation the Learned Man could have, to be fo proud of his discovery, and to take fo much pains to make out a nicety of fo little weight. I must confess with him and Father Labbe, That there is no part of Ecclefiastical History more involved, then that which relates to the Transactions of this Council, but then the difficulty arises not from any confusion of the two Councils as they imagine, but upon the defect of some Records, that they have not observed, though they are grounded upon an evident mistake, as I shall shew in the progress of the Story. In the first place, as for the time of the fitting of this Council, it is become a great Controversie among the Learned, Baronius places it in the year 357, Petavins, and after him Valefius, in the year 351, though I cannot fee any reason that they have for it, then only to serve the Hypothesis of a double Council. And as for the reasons that Baronius gives for his Chronology, they are evident from the very Story, of that time, viz. that the Council of Sirmium was call'd after the Council of Milan, the Banishment of Liberius, and the Confinement of Hofius at Sirmium, and three years after the Council of Arles by St. Hilary, & the Orthodox Bishops against Satura

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Saturninus, all which fall in exactly with this time. To which might have been added, that it was but a little time before the Council of Ancyra, where the Bilhops that had been present at this Council of Sirmium, were surprised with the news of the bold proceedings of Valens and his Companions, against their Decrees at Sirmium; and yet it is evident, and proved by Petavius himself, that the Council of Ancyra met in the year 158, whereas by his Hypothesis there must have been Seven years distance between the two Councils, which is utterly inconfiftent with the whole Train of the Story. And as for the Arguments of Baronius, though they are rejected by Petavius, yet I do not find that he has any way attempted either to answer or disprove them, unless by opposing to them the Authority of Socrates and Sozomen, who place it in the year after the Confulship of Sergius and Nigrinianus, and that is the year 351. But to me it looks very strange, that these Learned Men should lay so much stress upon the Authority of these Writers in a point of Chronology, when themselves so well knew, and have so well proved too, that there is scarce a Transaction in the whole History, that they have not obs in the year acr.

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Mif-timed, Ante-dating, or Post-dating every thing. And that they did to here. is evident from the whole Series of the History, especially the time of the banishment of Hohus, after the Council of Milan, in the first place, which could not be till forme years after the year 351, in that the Council of Milan it left was not held till the year 355. And in the next place the meeting of the Convention at Ancyra in the year 358, upon the first news of the diforderly proceedings of Valens and his Faction against the Sirmian Council, which could fearce take up a years time, but much less feven years, which it must have done if the first sitting of the Council had been in the year 351. But beside both these evident Demonstrations, there is another proof of as great force out of

Annot. in the Historians themselves, of which Vasocrat. biff. lefins has taken notice, but over-lookt
the Consequence. i. e. That several Bishops that they affirm to have been present at the Council, were not Bishops
till some years after the year 351, particularly George of Alexandria, and Hyparianus of Heraclea, who came not to
their Bishopricks till the year 356. And
then I hope no Man can doubt but that
it was an evident mistake to make them
Bishops in the year 351.

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Now the time being rightly stated at gainst the over-curious amendment of these Learned Men, the whole Series of the Story will run fmooth and easie ! For the Emperor coming to Sirmium in Lid. a.td. his Wars against the Barbarians, as Ammianas Marcellinas fays he did that very year, where Photinus Bishop of the place had divulged his Herefie, and by it (as Socrates affirms ) raised Tumults among 1. 2. 29! the People; the Eufebian Bishops, that always followed the Court, perfinade him to call a Council for the Condemnation of this new Herefie, and that pack't out of their own Faction: Partly to shew their Zeal against the Prophane Novelty, and that was the great Principle that they pretended to be fond of, the abhorrence of Innovation: Partly to vindicate themselves against that standing objection of the Catholicks, as it is fet out by \* Lucifer Calaritanus, that \* Ecre Photinus bo-

fer Calaritanus, that if they would allow Communion with the Arians, there was no avoiding it, but that they must grant it too to the Samofatenians. This being

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\* Ecte Photinus hominem tantum profitetur Dei filium i dicit illum non fuifse ante beatam Matiatti: tua quog; hac, est prosessio. Quod enim ante omnia quidem, hoc est ante i Ealos;

Calos, Terram, Mare, & omnia quæ in eis funt, Filius Dei fit fed quod extites De non pay-tit ex nihilo, fed cend. in Di- qued fit creatura; um deling. ] quid interesse Arbitraris inter se & Paulum Samofate-. . . Dum veleum, tum ejus Discipulum-tuum Conscotinum nifiquia tuante omnia dicis, ille verò post omnia? Caterum una vobis credulitatis & incredulitatis mens est, ut diceretis non habere Deum verum filium. In Anisos

the Master objecti on against them. which they could never avoid, though they would never submit to it; and now finding the Samosatenian Heresie brought in upon them, they are more concern'd then any other Party to appear against it, both to clear themselves of the objection and to windicate their own Reputation: That the main Bo. dy of the Council consisted of Eusebians is evident from

the Subscriptions of the Council of Anoyra, whereof all were present at this, and from the Presidency of Basilius, who was both an Eminent Eusebian, and the Chairman and chief Actor in this Council. Neither is there the name of any one Orthodox Bishop that was present at this Council upon Record, but only Hosius, who was there by compulsion. Now to give a cast of their Zeal both against the new

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new and the old Herefie, they revive the fourth Creed of the Council of Antiech, which that Council fent to the Emperor Constans to clear themselves from all fuspition of the Arian Heresie : and wherein they endeavour'd to express the fense of the Nicene Fathers, and make an effectual bar against Arianism, without the word Homooulios. And then to their own Declaration of Faith, in which they affirm, That the Son existed out of no other Substance then God himfelf, they annex 27 Anathema's against every branch both of the Arian and Photinian Heresie. All which Anathema's are carefully omitted by our faithful Historian Sandius, because he is resolved to make all the Fathers of this Anti-Arian Council rank Arians. But this Creed was thought fo fatisfactory in those days, that it is recommended by St. Hilary among the Orthodox Creeds, subscribed by Liberius, and approved by Athana- De synod. hus, who own'd it as Orthodox, and Arim & found no other fault with it then that selene. it wanted the word opoors. And this was all the Confession of Faith that was made in or by this Council, though the Historians after their careless manner tell us of two others, to the great confusion of the Story. For as to the fecond, it is Ii 2 cer-

certain that it was made after the diffolution of the Council, or at least out of it, upon this account, that the Council had vouch't the word soia, and declared fo frankly against the Arians. Which fo disgusted Valens, Vrsacius and their Affociates, that were more warping to Arianism then was suspected, and indeed had been fecret Arians all along, as will appear by the fequel of the Story, that they draw up another Creed among themselves, and give it out to the World under the name of the Sirmian Creed. In which they condemn and reject the use of the words &o ia, ouoson and ouosin the Christian Church, both because not warranted by Scripture, and because such Mysteries transcend the knowledge and comprehension of humane Understandings. The consequence of which (as St. Hilary truly observes) was, that by shutting out the word Homoouhos, it must be Decreed either that he was a Creature made out of nothing, or out of another Substance uncreated, and distinct from the Divine Nature. And by the profession of our ignorance of his Divine Generation, that we plainly declare, that we do not certainly know that he is the Son of God, both which confequences being fo dangerous, and fo evi-

evident, it could not but encrease the Zeal not only of the Orthodox Fathers, but the Eusebians, against fuch an undermining Creed. But the Valentians having now discover'd themselves, endeavour to make their Party as strong as they can, and among other confiding friends fend their Creed to Eudoxius, a very ill Man that had by the Patronage of the Eunuchs feized the great Bishoprick of Antioch, as the fense of the Western Church, and with the Title of the Sirmian Faith, and he being an eager admirer of Aetius, that had outbid the Photinian Herefie in daring and boldness, embraces it with great greediness, and calls a Council at Antioch to abet and ratifie this Western Faith, and writes back Letters of thanks to Valens and Ursacius for settling the right Faith in those Parts. Of all which proceedings George Bishop of Laodicea, an Eminent Eusebian, informs Bahlius of Ancyra, and the Bishops that were then Assembled with him upon occasion of Consecrating a new Church there founded by him, and begs that they would give their affistance to deliver the Church of Antioch, and indeed the whole Christian Church from a fuch malignant Herefie. With all which they being furprifed, fuppofing that Ii 3

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that all things had been duly and fully fetled in their late Council at Sirmium. but instead of that they now find a for-The faithful Sand. takes ged and counterfeit Creed thrust upon them, and therefore they immediately of all this, condemn it in Twelve smart Propositions, draw up a new ( reed, in which they restore the word soia, which the dema'd both forged Creed of Valens had exploded, OMOSTIOS and affirm the Son to be like the Father botl: in Substance and in all things; send aromoiss it by Ballius and other Legates to the Emperor, with a request that the determinations of the Sirmian Council might be ratified by Imperial Edict, he receives both it and them with all possible kindness, is in a great passion against Valens and his Conventicle, and damns their forged Confession by publick Edict. From all which it is more then evident, That this Creed of Valens was not drawn up in the Sirmian Council, as the Historians unanimously mistake; but after its diffolution by a rump Faction that continued in the City, and that appears plain enough without all this proof by the Preamble to it, viz. Seeing a Dispute about the Faith has been thought convenient, all things have been diligently Examin'd and Discuss't at Sirmium in the presence of Valens, Urfacius, Germinius,

nius and others. So that it was not the Act of the Council, but of a few Bishops that protested against it, who by it sonetled the Eastern Bishops that had been present at the Council, that they immediately meet again in Council to condemn the Imposture and restore the true Sirmian Faith. And yet for all this it is unanimoufly agreed by all Writers both Ancient and Modern, even those who acknowledge that this Second Creed was not made till after the Council, that this was the very Creed subscribed by the great Hosius in the Council.But methinks though we had wanted this forcible exception against it, that he could subscribe no such Creed in Council because none such there was to be subscribed, yet such an enormous Apostacy should not be so easily believed of a Man fo Great, fo Good, fo Wife, the very Father of the Church in that Age, that had for fo many years managed all the great Affairs of Christendom, presided in all the great Councils Eastern and Western, should at last quit the faith, that he had fo long contended for. And therefore Baronius bemoans his fall with Ad Annum. most forrowful Accents to the Tune of, 357. n. 17. How are the Mighty fallen; and his compassion had not been ill placed, had it been well grounded, for though all Men from

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that very Age to this very day have run away with the truth of the Story as a thing unquestionable, yet if we trace it up to its very beginning, we shall find it not only destitute of any competent Authority, but grounded upon an Information apparently false and inconfistent with the most evident Records of the Church. And that is the Forgery of Valens and his Affociates who difperst the Decree of their Conventicle into all parts of the Christian World, as the Creed of the Sirmian Council and all that confented to it, and in all probability with Hofius his name in particular annexed to it to give the greater blow by his Authority to the Athanahan Party, of which he was the great Oracle, and this they might do with more advantage then they had fpread their former Lyes, in that he had after great struggling and refistance complyed with the Council, and they had publish't this Creed as the result of it, and then it was but an easie and plaulible addition to it that this was the very thing that he had complyed with. And this being blown abroad with fo much confidence must for some time pass without controll, and gaining the belief of some few honest Men upon the first furprize, has ever fince supported it

felf upon their Authority. This is all the Foundation that this Story has or can have, though I very much suspect it has not so much, but relyes altogether upon one mans mistake, I am sure it does upon his Authority, and that is St. Hilary, at a time when he could have no competent Information of the matter, for he was then in Banishment in a distant part of the World, and being there informed that Hofius was present at the Council. and reconcil'd with the Eusebians upon fome complyance to the Council, and being withal inform'd of this Creed that its Contrivers had given out as the very Creed of the Council, it was natural and easie to conclude that the Subscription to this Creed was the Condition upon which Hofius was reconciled. And this mistake was so easie to a man in his Circumstances, that it was almost unavoidable, for as he was at a great distance, so he writ this upon the Information that Valens and his Party had fent themselves into the East. and therefore when this Creed was fent by them as the Creed of the Council. and when Hohus was present at it and fubscribed something to the satisfaction of the Eusebian Party, it was natural to suppose that it was upon his Subscription to this Creed. And this is all the Authority upon

(490) upon which the Credit of a Story fo in-

credible relyes, for all the following Writers could have no Information but from him, and as he is the only Founder of the Story, fo he fell into the furmife upon crude and remote Information. And that he was very ill inform'd about the SirmianCreed is evident from the account he gives of the Subscriptions to it, where among others he reckons up Bafilius, Silvanus and others who were fo far from fubscribing that Creed, that they were not present when it was framed, and as foon as they heard of it, condemned it with as much detestation as St. Hilary himself. Neither indeed could this drop from St. Hilarie's own Pen, who very well knew and has given the most accurate account of the Proceedings of Bastlius, Silvanus and others at Ancyra against the false Creed of Sirmium, and therefore could not possibly fo far forget himself as to set it down for their contri-So that this addition must have been foisted in by some peevish and un-skilful follower of Lucifer Calaritanus, who was angry with the reconciliation of the divided Parties, and equally offended both with the Orthodox and with the Eusebians that had United against the Anomeans, and I am very apt to suspect that

In Fragm. Hil.p.458.

that most of the reflecting passages in St. Hilary were foifted in by some such hand, and particularly the Title prefixt to this Creed, Exemplum blasphemix apud Sirmium per Ofium & Potamium confcriptæ; for there is no fuch Title in any other Author, it is set down b th by Athanasius. and Socrates without any mention of the name of Hofius. But however that is, it is evident from Athanasius himself, that the imposture of the second Sirmian Creed was not then well understood, for he fets it down in the fecond Creed made by the fame Council that drew up the first, whereas it was made by a Faction in defiance of it, and imposed upon the World under the false Title of the Sirmian Creed, which it feems was fwallowed by Athanafius in Africk as it was by St. Hilary in Afia, but that it was the Creed of Hofius is the fingular Dream of St. Hilary or his forging Luciferian, for that it was not St. Hilary's own Censure appears from a furly passage annexed to it. Sed de eo [ Hoho] nibil queror : qui idcirco est reservatus, ne judicio humano ignoraretur qualis ante vixisset. But I shall not complain of him, feeing he was preferved, to let the World know what a life he has lived. Which implyes him to have been a wicked and fcandalous Person, which St. Hilary nor no man else

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ele unless a railing Luciferian could ever fay of Hofius, which one dirty reflection is enough to spoil the Credit of the whole Story, in that it betrays the hand from whence it dropt, and the fame is to be faid of his Book against Constantius, where we find the fame Calumny repeated. For how Learned Men came to let that Book pass among St. Hilary's Genuine Works I cannot understand, when it fo plainly betrays its own Forgery, first in that the Author of it excuses himself for having never appear'd before in this Controversie, whereas St. Hilary had written his 12 Books de Trinitate, his Book de Synodis, and two Apologies to Constantius. Secondly, It is pretended to have been written after the death of Constantius, and yet it speaks of things that were transacting at the time of its

\* At nunc puznamus contra persequutorem, fallentem, contra bostem blandientem, contra Constantia Antichristum. writing \* as done in the time of his reign. Thirdly, a confiderable part of it is stoln out of Lucifer Calaritanus, viz. Where he justifies his rudeness to the Empérour by the Example of the Maccabees. Fourthly, the Author of it has filch't a

passage out of St. Athanasius his own Apology, in which he tells the Emperour that

that he had taken more pains against Athanafius then against the Persians; and therefore it must have been written by fome later Rhapfodist when Athanasius his Books were grown common, whereas St. Hilary does not feem to have been at

all acquainted with them. Lastly \* he charges Con- \* Mandas tibi stantius with owning and Subscriptiones, abetting with all his pow- Afrorum, quier the Creed of Valens bus and Vrfacius, when it is mia Vrfaciiet fo very well known that Valentis conhe used all his power to demnaverant, oppose it. But beside all reddi: renithese reasons, though I am tentibus comno Critick, yet I cannot minaris, & pobut discern that Treatise stremum ad dito be fo utterly unlike ripiendos mitthe Spirit and Genius of tis. that Father, that if he

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would have fet his own Wit to mock and burlefque his own way of writing, he could not have writ fo unlike himfelf. As will appear to any one that will but compare it with the remaining fragments of his two other Apologies. For beside the scabby imitation of his Stile, the roughness of the matter was utterly inconfiftent with his smooth and gentle way of Address, and perfectly betrays

the rough hand of some Luciferian Esau. For all the Schismaticks of that Splenetick Sect kept up the rudeness of their Founder, and fo were very abusive in all their Writings, and particularly fawcy in their expressions to Sovereign Princes: but most of all addicted to forge and divulge ill-natur'd Stories against all that they hated, but of all men they both owed and paid their greatest spite to the Memory of Hohus, because he was the first man that condescended to an accommodation with the Euselians, upon their anathematifing the Arian Herefie. Whereas Lucifer Calaritanus the Father of their Sect, was fo far from fubmitting to any terms of Reconciliation, that he would not fo much as accept them to Communion upon repentance, and upon this account feparated himself from the Catholick Communion, and made that ill natur'd Schifin, that his petulant followers were ferced to keep up by Stories and Calumnies against the Catholicks; but as for Hofius the head of their Enemies, he must not only do wicked things, but he must be punish't for them by the immediate hand of God, and of this we have a remarkable Story still remaining in Isidore Hispalenfis, that after his Apostacy and Prevarication at Sirmium, Gregory a Luciferian

rian Bishop of Fliberis refused Communion with him at his return home, at which he falls into a Passion, resolves to procure his Banishment, and in order to it goes about to Excommunicate him, but as he is denouncing the Sentence, he is fruck dead by Gregory's Prayers. But though the Learned Annalist has left this Ad Annum. great Man under the guilt of his Aposta- 357. 8.30. cy, he has been so kind as to rescue him from its Punishment, because this Testimony of Isidore is apparently too late, in that he lived at the distance of above two hundred years from Hofius, whereas there is no mention of any fuch Prodigy in all the Ancient or Co temporary Writers, but on the contrary they all speak honourably of him after his death. Athanasius who has occasion often to mention him when dead always does it with the fame respect that he treated him when alive, which he could never have done, had he perisht by fo remarkable a Judgment, fo that the first Authors of this Story were in all probability Marcellinus and Faustinus, two Schismatical Luciferian Presbyters in the Reign of Theodofius, that then threw out a Famous Libel stuff't with Dirt and Calumny, not only against Hofius, but St. Hilary, and all the other Orthodox Bifhops,

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shops, and from them Indore pick't up the Story. But to return to the Council of Sirmium and conclude this Vindication of Hofius, as I have fufficiently taken off the Tellimony of St. Hilary, both from the uncertainty of the Record and the incompetency of his Information, fo I think I can destroy it by the Testimony of one greater then he, and that is Athanasius, who as he was the man most concern'd in all this business, so he understood it best, and has left the best and only accurate account of it to Posterity, and yet in the Story of the Sirmian Council all that he relates of Hohus his compliance is only this, that with long hard usage and great severity, the Emperour at last with much difficulty brought him to this, that he should own Communion with Valens and Vrfacius, but so as not to subscribe against Athanafus; this is all the Story that he tells of this foul matter, though he feems to fuggest in his Apology, as if he had for fome time for fook him, through violence of torture, but not one Syllable of his Subscription to any Creed, much less that of Valens and his Party, which Hilary might take to be the Greed of the Council, because they gave it out to be fo, fo that in the result of all there is for little

little Evidence of his subscribing that Bastard-Creed that there is plainly none of his making any Subscription at all, all that is certainly known is that he was present at the Council, by force reconciled to the Eufebians, and so dismist home. though the Tellimony of St. Hilary were clear and certain, and though it were not controlled by the ftronger Testimony of St. Athanafius, there is one plain Argument that evidently demonstrates that whatever the Complyance or Subscription of Hosius was at had nothing to do with Valens his Creed because whatever it was, he was forced to it, as Writers agree by the Emperours threatnings and torments, whereas the Emperour was fo far from ever being fo zealously concern'd for this Creed at the Council, that it was framed both out of the Council and without his knowledge, and as foon as he understood any thing of it by the Bishops that were present at the Council, he condemned it with great Passion and Displeasure, and therefore fetting afide all Evidences from Testimony, this one Argument alone is an Eternal baffe to the Story how well foever So that after this I need not trouble my felf or the Reader with discovering the mutakes of the Historians, becaufe

because the thing it self proves them for as when Socrates and Sozomen fay that he was brought by force to subscribe the Creeds of the Council, the ground of their mistake is apparent, in that they supposed the Council to have made three Forms of Faith, when it made but one. As for Ruffinus and Sulpitius Severus, I regard them not either in this or any ca ther part of the Arian History, especially the latter who has committed as many faults through carelefness, as Philostorgius and his Lacquey Sandius have through wilful dishonesty. I have insisted the longer upon this particular Subject because it grieved me to fee the reputation of fo great a Man that had shined so long in the Christian Church to be thought at last to fet in so much dishonour, and that so great a blemish should so easily pass upon him through all Ages meerly through mistake and carelesness. But having to fully clear'd him of the foul Calumny laid to his Charge, I may now proceed to do what Service I can of the same nature to Pope Liberius, who too Poor Man! has had much harder usage upon this occasion then he really deserved, and that from the same Fountain, viz. A blind Testimony of St. Hilary and a bold Lye of Valens and his Faction, the first has let

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let fly three Anathema's for his Apostacy, to which Baronius replies, that they were none of his, but foifted into him by some later hand: It may be so, and in truth very little stress is to be faid upon those confused Fragments, but then he might have pleaded the fame thing in behalf of Hofius, whereas he has taken great pains to condemn Hofius, and acquit Liberius by the Authority of St. Hilary, which is by no means fair dealing, when by the fame shift wherewith he eludes the Testimony of Liberius, he might if he had pleased have taken off the Evidence against Hofius, which yet he has urged with the utmost severity against him, though with what candour and justice is evident from the Premisses. And as their case was the same as to the Testimony of St. Hilary, so was it as to the lyes and flanders of the Eusebians, who at the fame time when they boafted of Hofius his rejecting the Confubstantiality, if we may believe Sozomen, they make the very fame braggs of Liberius, as if he too had made the fame Declaration. But though they had Ten Thoufand Testimonies against him, and as many more flying Reports, his Innocence clears it felf by his own actings, for the true account of his whole compliance is beft Kk 2

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best stated and understood from his own Epiftles, where it is as express as words can make it, that he defired to be reftored upon his Subscription to the Faith of the Sirmian Council and yielding to the Condemnation of Athanahus: And what is that to Valens his Faith forged in his own Conventicle after the conclusion of the Council ? But though it be an easie matter to clear him of all suspicion of Herefie, yet we shall not be able to bring off his integrity with that clearness that we have Hofius. For if Hofius had done what was laid to his charge, it was all done by force and compulsion, whereas Liberius his compliance was a Free-will-offering; he courted the Enfebians to be admitted into their Affociation against his friend and fellow Sufferer Athanahus, he boasted of his forwardness in it, he over and over tender'd his Subscription against him, and all this in humble and fubmiffive Addresses, with this Petition at the Tail of all, That he might be restored to his Bishoprick: may he condescended so very low as to flatter and fawn upon fuch vile wretches as Valens and Orfacius. All which was an utter forfeiture of all manner of ingenuity, for what could be more dirty and dishonest then to join so frankly with

with fuch perjur'd Villains in the ruine of an innocent Person, only that himfelf might escape scot-free from their malice? So that whereas this Fact of Liberius has been the subject of a long and fierce Contention between the Friends and the Enemies of the present Church of Rome, those being much concern'd and puzled to clear him from falling into Arianism, because that would utterly spoil their modern Doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and these for the same reason labouring as hard to bring him under the guilt of that foul and scandalous Apoltacy; in my poor Opinion one fide might spare their fears, and the other their pains, for there was nothing of the Arian Herefie in all this Transaction: The Creed that he Subscribed could be no other then the first in this Council against Photinus, which not only came up fully to the Sense of the Nicene Creed, though it wanted the word opporto, but declared much more expresly against the Arian Heresie in its 27 Anathema's annexed to it, then which there is not a fuller protestation against it upon Record, though the first would have been sufficient alone, viz, If any Man fay that the Son existed our of nothing, or out of any other fubstance, Kk 3 and

and is not God of God, or that there was a time when he was not, let him be banisht the Catholique Church. But as for his delivering up Athanasius into the hands of his Enemies, thereby to purchase his own liberty, though it was a base and dishonourable action to Sacrifice so brave a Man to his own private Convenience, yet that was all, it was not disowning the truth, much less opposing it, he all along flood firm in his defiance to the Arian Faction, and with it concludes his very Letter to Valens and Vrsacius, where after a Protestation of his Integrity in what he had there declared, he adds, Pravaricatori Anathema una cum Arianis à me dictum. And now having thus clear'd the perplext controversie concerning the Faith of the Sirmian Council, and the Subscription of these two great Men to it, we may proceed in the Series of our Story.

6. XVI. Valens and his Conventicle having put that impudent Sham upon the Council, as to contrive a new Creed, that discarded all the bars against Aritanism, and publish it to the World under the Authority of the Council it self, this so gauled Basilius and the old Enset bians, who slatter'd themselves with this conceit,

conceit, that after all their Travels they had now at last fettled all things, and united all Parties by afferting a likeness though not an Identity in substance, against the new Sect of the Anomæans, who were fo far from owning any thing like to equality between Father and Son. that they held a perfect diffimilitude of Natures ( fo endless a thing is Metaphyficks, when Men have a mind to be peevish or wanton ) And here begins the new Controversie ( as Epiphanius obferves ) of Homousians and Homoiousians Heres, 93. against the Anomæans. And indeed it , 1. is the first time that I know of, that we hear of the different Parties of the Homoustans and Homoiousians; and if we may rely upon the report of Socrates, they never avowedly distinguisht them- 426.45. felves by those two words, till after the Council of Seleucia, though it is plain that the first occasion of it was given by the Council of Antioch, that was conven'd on purpose to contrive a Creed more comprehensive then that of Nice, and therefore instead of afferting the Consubstantiality of Father and Son, for the fatisfaction of all Parties, it defines the Son to be \* The unchangeable Image \* The Ocome Boids

of the Divinity and To TE Tarpos amap-Kk4 pallax Tur.

Substance of the Faράλλαμπον εικόνα. ther. But from the time of the Sirmian Council this new Controversie is carried on both by the Homousians and Homoiousians against the Anomæans, and it was but high time when they began to out-bid the Arians, especially when Actius had about this time vented his new Herefie, viz. That the Son was fo far from being either of the fame or the like Substance with the Father, that he was unlike him in all things, in which the bold Mechanick went beyond all the former Anomeans, that held only a diffimilitude of Nature, but a likeness of Will, whereas this new Heretique positively avers an unlikeness both of Nature and Will. He was by Trade a Goldsmith in Antioch, but being a very pert and conceited Citizen, and troubled as Photius expresses it in the description of him, with a certain Difease called This yawans haneagia, an intemperance of prating, he would needs fet up for a thing of Learning, and having got a little imattering in Aristotle's Logique, the next thing was to be an Heretique too, and fo first declares for Arius, and fpends his time in running

up and down to dispute with the Divines of the City, and at length grew

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fo troublesome and impertinent in all Company that the Pedant was kickt out of Town. But having the honour of a publick Affront, instead of being out of countenance, he grows proud that he should be so considerable as to be at all taken notice of, and fo refolves to leave his Master Arius, and set up a new Herefie of his own, and so became the very Muggleton of the Age. His great Admirers Philostorgius and Sandius are so foolish as to tell us strange Stories of his profound skill in Philosophy, and all the Learned Languages; and yet in the fame page tell us again, That after he was driven and affronted out of Antioch, he fled to Anazarbus in Cilicia, and there learnt his Grammar till his School-Mafter kickt him again out of doors for his fawcy and malepert behaviour towards him; after which he wanders up and down to brawl and dispute with all Men of fame for Learning, and having the misfortune to be once overcome at difputation in the Isle of Sicily, he resolved ( to be short ) to hang himself, had he not been warned by an Angel in a Vifion, that he should be endued with invincible Wisdom, and never more be vanquisht in disputation. Upon this he takes heart and repairs to Alexandria,

to encounter the great. Aphthonius, the then admir'd Man, both for Subtilty and Eloquence, and at the very first Rencounter disputes him to death. And when the mighty Hero had Conquer'd all the Giants of disputation, he grows fo generous as to turn Quack, and kill of tree-coft. And last of all he creeps into Deacons Orders by the help of Eudoxius, who was lately made Bishop of Antioch by the help of the Eunuchs, and being an ignorant and unlearned Man, had the ill-fortune to admire this Mechanick Fop, but being got into Orders, he leaves his own Countrey to refide at Alexandria, because it was necesfary, forfooth, that fome body should be there, who was able to cope with the great Athanafius; and after a while he is falfely accused to Gallus, by Bafilius and Eustathius, two great Bishops that he had baffed in disputation, but he acquited himself so well, that Gallus took him for his own Chaplain, after whose death these spightful Bishops accuse him again to Constantius as privy to Gallus his Conspiracy against him, and he being deliver'd by the Emperor into their hands, they banish him to Pepuza in Phrygia. This Tale, as ridiculous as it is, is the fairest Story that they could raise to the memo-

memory of this little Heretique. Tha the Truth of the whole matter is, that he was a meer Fanatique, for being conscious to himself of his want of Education, and having a mind to be thought fomething in the World, he pretends an immediate Revelation from God of all things that he had kept fecret from the Apostles, particularly a perfect knowledge of the Divinity, viz. That the Son was fo far from being of the fame or the like Substance with the Father (as the Church had taught from the time of the Apostles ) that he was unlike him in all things. Now Bahlius and the old Eufebians being alarm'd partly with the spreading of this new Herefie by the Patropage of Eudoxius Bishop of Antioch, and partly with the late prevarication of Valens and his Companions, but most of all by that League that they were making among themselves, they certifie the Emperor of all these bold endeavours to break in pieces his late fettlement of Union, of which he was fo fond, and had endeavoured fo many years, at prefent he declares against them with all possible keenness of Zeal, but in order to their final Extirpation refolves once more upon a general Council, and first appoints it to meet at Antioch, but before the fet time of

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of Meeting the City was destroyed by an Earth-quake, which (fays Philostorgius according to his Partial and Fanatique way of writing ) befell them as a Judgment from Heaven, because most of the Inhabitants of the City were Homousians. But upon its destruction several other places are mentioned, though none could be agreed on, so that the very place for the Council became a tedious matter of debate; and Bafilius with the Eastern Bishops, by whose motion it was refolved upon, are fent for by the Emperor to Sirmium to advise about it, where they luckily meet with Valens and his Western Associates, and falling into a Conference before the Emperor about the present Controversies, after a long dispute till late at night, they at last by the Emperours Motion agree upon a new accommodation to gratifie all Parties among themselves, i.e. Not to affirm the Son to be like the Father in Substance: And this was to please Valens and his Party, who had exploded the word Substance out of their Creed, but to be like him in all things; and this could not but satisfie Basilius and his Party, for if he were like him in all things, he must be so in Substance, and upon this they agree upon the Reconciling Creed.

Germinii Kp. in Hilar. frag. h 455. Oreed, commonly called the third Sirmian Creed, for which they were fo much laughed at, and of which they were fo foon ashamed, for dating it according to the year of the Confuls, Eusebins and Hypatius, whereas all former Councils were never wont to fet any Date to their Creeds, thereby implying their fettlement from the Beginning. But these piecings never hold firm, for when they came to fubscribe their Creed, Valens Epiphan. would have shuffled, writing only, that Heres. 73. the Son was like the Father, but was for N. 22. ded by the Emperor to add in all things, and Bafilius fuspecting the fraud that might lye under these general words, fubjoins to his own Subscription, When I fay that the Son is like the Father in all things, I mean not in Will only, but in Substance. But that was no more then his own protestation, for Valens haying gain'd a Creed without the word Substance, he had gain'd his point, and fo lays it up fafe till he had occasion to use it for his own purpose. After this they agree to divide the Council into two parts, probably out of Jealousie one of another, one to fit at Ariminum for the ease of the Western Bishops, and the other at Seleucia in Ifauria for the eafe of the Eastern. At Ariminum meet above

P 121.

bove 400 Bishops, though Sandius, like himself says above 1000, thus Men that accustom themselves to lying, will often lye to no purpose. Of these there were not above 50 of Valens his Party, as Athanastus affirms, or at most not above 80, as Severus; but being emboldned by their late new Creed at Sirmium. whereby they had at length shaken off all the Clogs, that had been hitherto fastened on them to hinder their return to Arianism, and being affured that the Emperor would back their motion with all his Zeal and Power, they step forth and move for the Union and Satisfaction of all Parties, that all former Creeds might be abolisht, and that their late Creed agreed upon at Sirmium, and approved by his Imperial Majesty, might be establish for ever, and that for the time to come no fuch strict Inquisition should be made into Mens Opinions that does but breed Quarrels and Animosities in the Church. But the Fathers being too well fatisfied by fo many experiments that had been made in this Princes Reign, that nothing would ever be able to stop out the Arian Heresie, but the Nicene Faith, and now feeing all those fences that had been raised as gainst it by so many Councils broke down

Soz. 1.4.

down and leapt over, and the Christian Church like to be turn'd into a Common for the entertainment of all Herefies without restraint or distinction, resolve to make short work of it, and therefore tell them, that they came not there to make new forms of Faith, but were fatisfied with the Faith that they had received from their Fore-fathers, and that their present business was to make enquiry whether any thing were innovated against it, and remove it, and therefore demand of them for clearing themfelves of any fuch defign to fubscribe the Condemnation of the Arian Herefie, which they refusing, the Synod proceeds, to have the Nicene Faith, and that alone Establisht for ever, and Decree that for the time to come it should never be call'd in question, it being an absurd thing to be always making new Faiths, as if they were but now beginning to believe. Their Resolution, and the Title prefixt to it being very remarkable, I shall fet them down in their own words. The Title runs thus, Incipit definitio Ca- Apud Frag.

tholica habita ab omnibus Catholicis Epij-488.
copis, priusquam per terrenam potestatem
territi, Hæreticorum consortio sociarextur in Concilio Ariminensi. The Decree.

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Sic credimus placere omnibus poffe Catholicis à Symbolo accepto nos recedere non oportere, qued in collatione apud omnes integrum recognovimus : nec à fide recessuros, quam per Prophetas à Deo Patre per Chriftum Dominum nostrum, docente Spiritu Sancto, & in Evangeliis & in Apostolis omnibus susceptimus, ut per traditionem Pattrum secundum successionem Apostolorum usque ad traftatum apud Nicaam habitum; contra hæresin quæ tunc temporis exurrexerat, positum nunc usque permanet. Quibus omnibus nec addendum aliquid credimus nec minui poffe manifestum est. Placet ergo nihil novum fieri; substantiæ quoque nomen & rem à multis sanctis scripturis infinuatam mentibus noftris obtinere debere sui firmita-Quam rem tum suo nomine Ecclefia Catholica cum doctrina desfica femper confiteri & profiteri consuevit. This is a brave refolution, and becoming the courage of fuch a Venerable Assembly, if they had stood to it. To this Decree they demand Valens and his followers to fubmit themselves, but they refuse and stand upon their late Imperial Faith, and so are all deposed. Of all which they certifie the Emperour in a Synodical Epiffle, in which they give him this reason of their resolution of sticking to the Nicene Faith. Que sola hostis & interfectrix Ariane Hærefeos;

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Hæreseos, in qua certe & addere aliquid temerarium eft, & auferre periculofum: quorum fi alterntrum flat, erit hostibus quidlibet agendi libera facultas. Because that alone cut the Throat of the Arian Herefie, so that to add any thing to it or diminish any thing from it, would open a gap to the Enemies to break down all: and of the same Opinion was St. Hilary at last, though he had been formerly for framing new Creeds to way-lay new Heresies, Fides que apud Niceam ordinata est, plena atque perfecta est, & omnibus un Hilp.447 dique quibus irrepere bæretici folent, aditibus obseratis, inviolabili inter Patrem & Filium æternæ unitatis soliditate connectitur. This was the refult of this Great Council, and yet though there are fo many clear and undoubted Records of it. Philostorgius and Sandius are so infatuated as to tell us that the Fathers of this Council unanimously agreed in rejecting the Homoousian Faith, and Sandius adds, that they condemned the Council of Nice as diabolical. But immediately after this Vote of No Faith after the Nicene. Valens and his Affociates leave the Countil, and before the Legates could come to the Emperour, they inform him of the stubborness of the Council in rejecting his own Imperial Creed, and to aggravate the

the affront fetting up against it his old Enemy Homooupos, so that after twenty years War that his Majesty had waged against it, they had given it much greater Strength and Authority then it ever had before, by Voting it perpetual and un-changeable. Upon this finding his project that he had been so long in harching, and as he thought had brought to fome life, fo unexpectedly dash't to nothing, it fwells his Choler into Rage and Madness, and he now vows never more to be baffed, and though he was always as Ammianus describes him, inexorabilis sua Authorita tis windex, an implacable exacter of O. bedience, from this time forward his Reign was nothing but Force and Tyranny. And in the first place he will neither admit the Legates of the Council into his presence, nor dismiss the Council it felt, but writes a furly Letter, in which he only bids them to wait for an Answer till his return from the War with 1/2. c. 19. the Barbarians, \* which was done by the advice and contrivance of Valens and his Affociates to tire out the poor old Bishops that defired to return home to their Charges, and at length to demolish this new Sconce that they had raised against the Herefie. But all in vain, for by this rough and careless answer they fufficiently

\*Theodor.

ciently understood his meaning, and fo soc 1.2. fend a bold and peremptory Letter to af 6.29. fure him, that let him do what he would they were resolved never to depart from their resolution, and therefore Petition to be immediately dismist. But for all that he leaves them in Council all Winter toblow their Fingers, and cool their Resolutions till his return from the War. In the mean time at the Request of Valens and Theod. 1. 2. his fifty Men he commands themselves to 6.21. repair to the City of Nice in Thrace, namefake to that in Bithynia, and decoy along with them as many Bishops as they could pick up through weakness or Cowardise, and there Vote his own Form for the flanding and unalterable rule of Faith with the advantage of the Name of the Nicene Faith. All which is accordingly done, only they put a new trick upon his Credulity, for whereas his own Creed run thus, that the Son was like the Father in all things, they only fet it down in the words of Valens as he would have subscribed it the Emperour at Sirmium. that he was like the Father. This being in Frag. done, they inform the Emperour that Hilar. they had exactly obeyed his Commands that he laid upon them at his departure to his Wars, ne quis usice vel homousii nomi-

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nomina Ecclesiæ Dei ignota aliquando nominet, quod Scandalum inter fratres facere fo-With this the poor abused Emperour is fully fatisfied, and as foon as he returns home, all that refuse to subscribe this new curtail'd Creed are banish't out of hand, particularly Liberius of Rome is fent to travel a Second time, but the Legates from the Orthodox Bishops at Ariminum are forced to a subscription, and at length most of the Bishops themselves are brought to a complyance, partly by the perswasions of Valens and his Friends to yield to the Emperours Will as a prefent expedient, and partly by their folemn and vehement Protestations against the Arian Herefie. And this is the very moment of time in which St. Ferom fays, Ingemuit totus Orbis, & Arianum se esse miratus est, A passage quite worn out by our Innovators to prove an Apostacy of the Catholick Church from the true Faith. Whereas St. Ferom is so far from intimating any fuch Apostacy, that he only complains of it as a Cheat and Trapan, which as foon as the Bishops understood, they did with infinite indignation disclaim their Subscriptions. So that the whole World was fo far from being Arian at that time, that it was fall'n out with it felf for being so weakly over-reach't and

Adversus Lucifer.

and out-witted by an handful of Arians, who had drawn them in by their great Protestations and Professions against Arianism to subscribe such a loose and ambiguous Form of Faith as might let it in; otherwife as for the Creed it felf himfelf pleads for it, Nunquid bic insertum eft. erat tempus quando non erat? vel de nullis extantibus Creatura est filius dei? Perfe-Eta fides est Deum de Deo credere. Et natum aiebant unigenitum solum ex Deo Patre. Quid est natum? certe non factum: Nativitas suspicionem auferebat Creaturæ. In the next place he subjoyns several Anathema's fo frankly pronounced at the fame time by Valens and his Confederates against all parts of the Arian Heresie, that could not but prevent all Jealousie of any defign to introduce it. But the Council being dismist, Valens and his Party infult over the Orthodox Bishops, as if they had gain'd their point against the Nicene Council, Dimisso Concilio caperunt postea Valens & Vrsacius cæterique nequitiæ eorum socii palmas suas jactitare, dicentes se filium non Creaturam negasse, sed similem cæteris creaturis, tum Usæ nomen abolitum est. Tunc Nicana fidei damnatio conclamata est, Ingemuit totus Orbis & Arianum se esse miratus est. 'The Council being dissolved, Valens and Ll 3 · Urfacius

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"Wrsacius and the other Affociates of their wickedness spread their Plumes, boafting that they had not denyed the Son of God to be a Creature, but to be like the other Creatures, then was the Name of Substance abolish't, then was the overthrow of the Nicene Faith proclaimed, then did the whole World groan and ' admire to fee it felf become Arian. But were they fo? No fo far from that, that as foon as the Cheat was discovered, they run about like so many mad Men, tearing their hair and taking the Sacrament upon it, that by suspecting no harm they were merely over-reacht by wicked men. and abhorred that ill use that Valens and his Villains had madeof their Condescention, and begg'd pardon of the World for their Folly and Hieron. ib. Eafiness. Concurrebant Episcopi qui Ariminensibus dolis irretiti sine conscientià bæretici ferebantur, contestantes corpus domini, & quicquid in Ecclesia fanctum est, je nihil mali in sua fide suspicatos. Putavimus, dicebant, sensum congruere cum verbis; nec in Ecclessa Dei, ubi simplicitas, ubi pura confessio est, aliud in corde clausum ese, aliud in labiis proferri timuimus. Decepit nos bona de malis existimatio, non sumus arbitrati facerdotes Christi adversus Chriflum pugnare. This is their Protestation, and how

how well they made it good we shall fee. in the next Reign, but however evident it is that St. Jerom never intended by this passage (as it is vulgarly abused) that Arianism had really prevailed over the Orthodox World, but on the contrary that the Orthodox World was aftonsh't to fee it felf over-reach't by it. And fo ended this great Council of Ariminum in meer fraud and violence. And that in the management of Church Affairs, as long as our Saviour's own lettlement of it in the whole Body of Christian Bishops is regarded, can never come to any lasting effect ( though an Ecclefiastical Monarchy is as lyable to corruptions and abufes as any other State or Government) and particularly with how much eafe and no power, but that of the Church it felf, all these mighty Contrivances were brought to nothing, we shall see in the Reign of Julian.

S. XVII. But as ill as the Council of Ariminum concluded, that of Seleucia ended worse, and came to nothing but bawling, tumult, and consustion, for it consisted of two Parties, that searing one anothers Accusations they both endeavour'd to disturb all Proceedings, till that point of enquiring into Mens lives was laid aside, and that being obtain'd they

they proceed to enquire and determine of Faith, but as the Council of Arminium confisted of Catholicks and Arians, this was made up of Acacians, that followed the Blasphemy of Actius, and the old Eusebians that approved all things in the Council of Nice, but the word Confubstantial, whereas the Acacians defied the Council it felf and all its Decrees; and must have not only the word Confubstantial but that of Substance too abolisht. But to prevent this the Eusebians at the motion of Silvanus fet up the Antiochian Creed for the Standard of Orthodoxy, and depose all that refuse subscription to it, Acacius and his Party on the contrary give in a Libel in which they equally condemn all unfcriptural words,& anathematife their own Doctrine of Diffi militude, that they might the better condemn their Adverfaries, for that they knew would take with the Emperour to take away the discriminating words of all Parties. But when this new Faith was read, Sophronius an Eusebian cryes out, if we must be making new Faiths every day, in a little time we shall have none at all. But to that it is replyed by Acacius, If you laid afide the Nicene Faith for yours at Antioch, why may not we lay afide yours for one more unexceptionable and thus were they caught in their own Snare for not acquiescing

escing in the first determination of the Church, and after the infinite turmoil of fo many Councils they are now convinced of their own folly. But however they proceed on to wrangle fo intemperately that Leonas, who was appointed by the Emperour to fee things fairly managed, was fo out of all patience, that he turn'd them out of doors, and bid them go trifle among themselves. So both Parties had their ends, having escaped each others Accusations, and establisht their own Doarine with the formality of a Council. This being done both post to Constantinople to tell their own Story, but the Acacians coming first they so preposses the Emperour with prejudice against his old friends as to engage him on their fide against himself and his own opinion. They tell him that Bahlius and the other Party were stiff and inflexible in their own determinations, and would yield nothing for the reconciling of Diffenting Parties, nor remove any of the Offensive Words that were the cause of all these Dissentions, not formuch as that of Dissimilitude : now they knew the Delign of reconciling to be the Emperour's Darling, and the Doarine of Diffimilitude his particular averfation. Upon this he in great haste and fury calls a Council at Constantinople of Fifty Bishops, where these crafty men gain more

more ground for themselves by seeming to promote his great reconciling project. in order to which they present him with a Creed wide enough to take in all Parties, in which they banish not only the word, Substance, and Consubstantial, but that of Hypoltafis, and though they held a Diffimilitude in Substance themfelves, yet to blind him they now diffemble it, and by leaving it undetermined they ferve his defign of comprehension, and therefore instead of his own Sirmian Creed, That the Son was like the Father in all things, they put him off with this general and ambiguous Form, That the Son is like the Father in the sense of the Scriptures, i. e. as they believed, in Will, but not in Substance. Now this Creed was a meer contrivance to let in Aëtianism. of which of all Herefies the Emperour had the greatest abhorrence, yet fuch was his dotage and infaruation to compass his long look't for project, that he embraces it with both his hands. and all his heart. And grows fo fond of the new Darling, that when his old Friends Bahlius and Silvanus and the reft came he refused to hear them, and when Balilius thought he might freely discourse with him as he was wont to do, he commands him filence at his Peril as a diffur-

ber of the Churches Peace. Upon this Enflathius takes the confidence to inform the Emperour that those Men were not the Men that he took them to be, but were Aëtians, and held the Blasphemy of Dissimilitude, and this he proves particularly upon Endoxius of Antioch. This turns the Tide of his Fury, and puts him into fuch a Storm that Eudoxius to appease it is forced to throw his Friend Aëtius into it, by laying the Book that Eustathius had laid to his own Charge at Aëtius his door. Upon this Aëtius is immediately fent for to Court, whither he repairs with all joy and speed, thinking of nothing but the praise that the Emperour would give him for his subtle knack at disputing, and no sooner comes into to the presence but upon the first question greedily owns himself Father of the Brat, and upon it is immediately banisht into Phrygia\*. All his

Adherents are required either to anathematise his Here resident or follow his Fortune, but they chose to quit both their friend and their opinion rather then their Bishopricks. But then they are soon quit with the Euse-bians for putting the Emperour upon this Test, by propounding another for them

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that they knew would not pass, viz. to renounce the words Substance and suorieros, this immediately takes the Emperour, and done it must be out of hand. To put this off Silvanus propounds that the Acacians may be made to renounce all the Arian Phrases, but they stick at nothing, and abjure them all. But then their Adversaries must abhor too, which refusing stiffy to do are thrust into banish-But here the conclusion of all ment. these Contests is very observable for the last words that were spoke by Silvanus in behalf of himself and his Brethren, for not renouncing their own words, were thefe. If God the Son exist neither from nothing, nor from any other substance, then he must be of the same substance with the Father. And thus after all our tedious and long travel, are we just where we were at the beginning, for this was the very Argument approved by the Council of Nice for fetling the word our ours, and now after twenty years contest against it, are those very Men that have all along made fuch stirs about it, forced to take it up again, and are convinced by fo long experience that if they once quit the fettled faith, there is no putting any stop to the Progress of extravagant Opinions.

Do Synodis And after this Athanasius norwithstanding all the troubles that they had so unjustly

given

(525) given him, and all the ill Names that he had so justly given them, owns friendship with them and gives them the Title of Brethren, that he fays differ from the Catholick Faith not in sense but in words: for when they acknowledge the Son so be of the Substance of the Father, and not of any other Substance, nor a Creature out of nothing, but the true Natural and Eternal Son of the Father, they are at a very little diftance from owning the word confubstantial. But the Emperour is so in love with this new Acacian Faith, and fo eager in pursuit of his old Homoonhan Enemy, that he at last quits the Party that he had all his life-time with fo much vehemence abetted, to joyn in with thefe very Men that he had always and even at this very time deteffed. And they have ving got him into their possession, they resolve to make their best bargain of him, and so fall to the old work of the Eusebians, Plunder and Sequestration, tell the Emperour Tales and Stories of their Enemies that had fat Bishopricks, and prevail with him to put his own friends out and put themselves in. And in the first place they turn Macedonius that Seditious Incendiary out of Constantinople, and place Eudoxius of Antioch, the very Hugh Peters of that age for prophanenels, luxury

& debauchery in his See. And after the

Sez. 1. 4.

fame manner that the Eusebians had ejected the Catholiques, fo did they displace them, as Basilius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebasta, Eleusius of Cizicum, Dracontius of Pergamus, Silvanus of Tarfus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, &c. And for their Mal ce they stood in little need of forgeries, the Eusebians being generally ill men, that came into the Church only for ease and preferment, no wonder then if they were fo eafily expell'd by thefe new Sycophants, when they were to obnoxious to the groffest imoralities, and fuch were the crimescharged upon them, as they are fet down by Sozomen in the place above-cited.

And thus after all these windings and turnings to get loofe from the Nicene Creed, is the caufe run away by this upflart Sect, the very dreggs of Mankind, the Acacians being only the Rump of the Eusebians, that had supplanted them, as they had the Catholiques by out-reaching them in their own craft and wickedness, and that is the natural event of all forts of Sedition, that the first Authors of it are at last devoured by their own spawn. But these Wretches having got the Power into their hands, as Philostorgius himself tells the story, they fall out among themfelves, and endeavour to deftroy each other by mutual Accufations. The great

lib. 6.

Triumvirate of the Party Endoxins, Ennomius and Acacius accuse one another. Eudoxius falls foul upon Eunomius, and Eumonius upon him, and Acacius upon both and flanders them to the Emperour, supposing that only to accuse without proof wasenough with him, as it ever had been, to procure their condemnation; but he hapning in a grave fit to enquire into the merits of the cause, and Acaeins having no proof to back his tale was forced to disappear. So that the Emperor ftill finding himself abused by a new pack of Cheats, resolves after all his disappointments to try one Council more, but whilst that was in consultation Jutian rebells, and Conftantius his heart breaks. And thus by his unskilful tampering with the Church, he leaves it at last buried and lost in its own confusions, for inflead of making up the breaches of the Church, by this comprehensive and indefinite Creed of the Acacians, it was every where broke into tumult and civil War. In all Cities the People fiding fome with the ejected Bishops and some with the Intruders, and each party efteeming the other Hereticks, though for what neither knew, they fet up diffinct Communions, and that foon fills all places with Noife, Dispute, and Contention, and

and oftentimes with the fury and out? rage of the Rabble. But the Acacians having got the mastery, they put offall difguile, and now publickly declare both for A transfm and Arianism. For Meletius one of their own party, whom they had made Bishop of Antioch for his zeal to the cause, turning Orthodox as it were out of spite, and preaching up the Nisene Faith, they affemble there in the year 360 in order to his deposition, and under that pretence take the opportunity of drawing up a new form of Faith. In which they not only dash out the likeness of the Son to the Father, as it was in their former Creed, but expresly declare a diffimilitude both in fubstance and will, this was the end of all this fatal Tragedy, and above thirty years contention about one word against the Authoritative determination of the Christian Church, and after all parties had tired themselves, A tius a pert and ignorant Mechanick carrys away the ball. 'Thus ' far, fays Athanasius, have they trifled a-

De Synod.

far, fays Athanasius, have they tristed away our Religion, and into what wild conceits they will wander no man can foresee, for there is no stop to be set to their Extravagance, till they shall retr n to themselves and say, let us return to our Fathers, Abhor the Ari-

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an Herely and embrace the Nicene Faith, for it is clear that all contention against this, let Men pretend what they will at top, is for the fake of that at bottom, and if men will not flick to the facred determination, there is no way 'left to keep out the Herefy. Nor indeed all the follys in the world, for when once the Authority of the Church is despised, and this Itching humour of dispute broke out among the People, though the Civil Government keep their nails never fo short, they will be always fcratching and drawing blood of the Church. And thus was it here, for though the definition of the Council against the Heresy would have put an everlafting end to the Controversy, as it did during the reign of Constantine, yet when it was once laid afide by Constantius, to oblige and comprehend, (as he dream't ) the Dissenters by some abatement, what endless factions did it create? Eusebians, Aetians, Photians, Eudoxians, Acacians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Pfatyrians, and Dulians, and that was the lowest folly that men could fink into: for after all the divisions and subdivisions of one from another, some of them came at last to affirm that Jesus Christ was so far from being the Son of God, that he Mm was

lost 2. was only his Serving-man And this Philostorgius is not ashamed to tell us, was preached by his celebrated Eunomius, in the Cathedral Church of Constantino-

ple.

But befide these wild Opiniatours, the Church by this Liberty was overrun with Swarms of Enthulialts, the most dangerous of all Vermin; and this broke out chiefly among the Monks, and men of Devotion. In Egypt there was a Sect that thought it unlawful to void their Excrements, from that Text in St. Matthew 15. 11. Not that which goeth into the meuth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the mouth. So easy is it to defile and prophane a facred Text by applying it to the wrong end, and against thefe Athanasius writ his Epistle to Ammon the Monk. And others there were in Palestine, that beside many other freaks had this peculiar to themfelves, that it was not lawful to pray, unless alone, from that passage of our Saviour, Matth. 6.6. When thou prayest enter into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in feeret. But not to follow the whole fwarm of Breezes, the two Magots of great Note and Magnitude at that time were the Maffalians in Mesopotamia, and the Eustathians

The Massalians first set up in Armenia. with this one Principle, That they were obliged to pray always, and fo do nothing elfe, from that pallage of our Lord in the Gospel of St. Luke. 18. 1. That Men ought always to pray and not to faint. From this conceit naturally iffued fuch a fwarm of abfurdities, as eat up all other parts of Religion; for if this was the only necessary thing (and so they applyed that faying of our Saviour to Martha) the two Sacraments and all other Dutys became useless, and they grew so drunk with felf-conceit, that they pretended to fee the Holy-Trinity with their bodily Eyes, and to be equal with Christ himself; fometimes they would dance upon the Devils, and fometimes they would fhoot at them, and fometimes be taken with fuddain frantick fits, in which they converst with Angels, and foresaw things. to come, they diffolved all the bonds of humane Society, made perjury lawful, cancell'd all obligations between Hufband and Wife, Parents and Children, and laftly admitted none to their Society. but fuch as were mark't out by a visible descent of the Holy-Ghost upon them, and they were fo fond as ferioully to fancy that they familiarly faw fuch appearances. As for the Eustathians or rather

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(532)

Ad. An. 361' Eutachtans ( for Baronius I think has very well proved that not Eustathius Bishop 1.45. Oe.

of Sebasta but one Eutactus was the Father of the Sect ) I have given fome account of them above, that they were a wild fort of Phanaticks that under pretence of a more refined Godliness degenerated into perfect Ranters, and Levellers, and the Practice of all kinds of Debauchery. But the fullest Description of them is best to be seen in the Canons of the Council of Gangra, by which they were condemned viz. that they Abhorr'd Marriage as unlawful, and eating of flesh unless it were strangled or offered to Idols: that they fet loofe all fervants from subjection to their Masters; that they refused to receive the Eucharist from a married Priest, that they despised Churches and all Assemblies in them as Superstitious, that they fet up Meetings feparate from the Bishop, that they refufed to make the usual Offerings, or to be present at the Love-feasts: That they distinguisht themselves from others by a peculiar Habit, and would not Communicate with any that did not wear it: that they required women to shave their hair, and wear Mens apparel, to forfake their Husbands, and neglect their Children, and Children to take no notice

or Care of their Parents: that they fast on the Lords day, and despise the Festivals of the Church; in short, they seem to have held nothing unlawful in humane life but marriage, nor decent in the worship ofGod but contradiction to the practice of the Church. And thus when our schism grows too strong for discipline, the Common People never leave wandring till they have tired themselves with roving through all imaginable Exorbitances, for these kind of doctrines are not peculiar to that time or place, but are the flye-blows of disputacity and the natural effe as of unbridled liberty all the world cver.

6 XVIII. This that I have described as acc urately as I could by comparing the best Records of those times, was the true state of the Christian Church under the Reign of Constantius, and yet notwithstanding those perpetual Enormities committed by him through his whole Government, the two great Articles that I am proving, viz. the inherent right of determining Controversies within the Church it felf by its own Governours, and its entire submission to the Civil Powers howfoever oppressed by them, were nicely and religiously obfer-Mm3

feryed by both Governments. The first evidently appears from the Emperour's fummoning fo many Councils to gratifie his own Will. For his only defign was to amend and reform the Nicene Creed for the reconciling of all Parties, which if he had thought that he might have done by his own Imperial Authority, to what purpose need he have broke up all the High-ways inChrifrendom by conveying Billiops to and from Councils? He might have proclaimed down the word oucen @ by one Imperial Rescript, if he had supposed that a proper Authority for it. So that when he Tummoned fuch Variety of Councils, by the Countenance of their Authority to compass his Will, that demonstrates it to be a fixt Principle with him, that the Controversies of the Church ought to be decided by the Authority of the Church. And therefore though it was scarce ever more oppressed or abused by any Prince then himself, yet his very illegal Actions are the highest acknowledgement, that is upon record of that religious reverence that is due to that power, that was fetled by our Saviour upon his Apostles and the Billiops their Successours forever. For though it so frequently crost his own design, yet he durst never dire tly invade

invade or usurp it, but was forced from time to time to solicite their compliance with his own wicked Will, or rather misinform'd judgement. And though he carried things with so rough a violence, yet he would never attempt any thing against the Liberties of the Church, unless he could bear himself out by the Au-

thority of a Council.

But if he so much own'd that, how comes it to pass that the Ancients charge him so highly for usurping it, particularly Athanasius, Hosius, St. Hilary, and Liberius, who freely and boldly reproved him for it to his own face? And so they did, and that too upon very just grounds; for though he did not challenge the Authority of the Church to himself, yet he endeavoured to overrule it by down-right force and violence, which is in effect to destroy it.

And that is the ground of their complaints, that they were not allowed freedom in Council, but that himself and his Presects took upon them to forestall the Judgement of the Church by Restraints and Threatnings. This is the standing complaint of Athanasius and all the Orthodox Bi hops in all their Writings. It is the grievance insisted upon by the Synod of Alexandria in their Synodical Epi-Mm 4

(536)

Apoles. p. stle in behalf of Athanasius against the 728. Tyrian Council. With what forehead could they call that a Council, over which a temporal Lord prefided; and where Spies, and Notaries were placed where his Lordship determined, and theOfficers of the Church were filenced, or rather lacquied to his Decree? Where what was voted by the Bithops, was over-ruled by him? He carried all things by Power, we were govern'd by the Guards, or rather the pleasure of the Eusebians, whose Tool and Instrument was the Secular Prefident. And a little Ibid. p. 730. after, 'These worthy Eusebians stelter their forgeries ( speaking of the Villany of Arsenius) under the pretence of a Council, where all things carried by the Emperour's Will, where one of his Lords prefided, and the Bi-'thops were under the custody of the guard, and compell'd to fay whatever the Emperour commanded. The very fame Complaint is made by Athanafius. himself against the Council of Antioch. p. 8. 14. in his Epistle to the Monks of Egypt, 'That when upon the Appeal or rather Reference made to Rome by the Fufebians, he had repair'd thither, and the time

of hearing the cause was appointed, as

foon as they heard they were likely to · meet

meet with an Ecclesiastical judgement, where the Secular Governour was not to be present, nor the Guards to keep the Council doors, for all things to be overul'd by the Commands of Cafar. by which methods and no other they had hitherto born down the Bishops, and without which fecurity they durft never have made any appearance, were to aftonishe and surprised, that they had no way of escape but to shift off their own Appeal. And this is the Account that he gives of their lying off from the Synod of Sardica, 'That when they had p. 818. brought the Emperours Officers along with them, and trufted to do what they 'pleased by their Authority, but finding that all things were refolved to be ma-'naged there fairly and freely according to the Ecclefiastical Rule, they quite baulkt the Council.

And to transcribe no more, the same complaint is perpetually repeated by him in all his Writings as the fundamental miscarriage, v. p. 833. 844. 845. 861. 862. This was the enormity of his Reign, though he fell not so grossy into it till after the overthrow of Magnentius or the Murther of Gallus. They were the Actions of that time that these good men particularly complain of, and no wonder when

man then a Prince, and Govern'd both the State and himself too as wildly as the Church. As his Extravagance at that time is described by Ammianus Marcellinus. Quo ille Studio blanditiarum exquisito sublatus, immunemque se deinde fore ab Immortalitatis incommodo existimans. confestim a justitià declinavit ita intemperanter, ut Æternitatem meam aliquo. ties affereret ipse dictando, scribendoque proprià manu Orbis totius se Dominum appellare:. Upon the news of the death of Gallus, he was so bloated by the flatteries of his Courtiers for his fuccess against all his Enemies, that he forgot himself and his own Mortality, and sunk after fo prodigious a rate from all fense of Justice, that he was often wont in di-Chating Letters to subscribe himself, My Eternity, and Lord of the whole World. They, I fay, were the actions of this mad time, that these good Men particularly complain of, and as for all the time before he gave the Church reasonable fair usage, and though the Eusebians drew him in to pack Councils, yet he never proceeded to high himself as to forestall or over-rule their Decrees.

As for the Council of Antioch, that was the meer contrivance of the Nicome-

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dian Eusebius and his Eunuchs to prevent the Council at Rome in the cause of Athanahus. In which it does not appear that the Emperor had any other concernment, farther then to put their Sentence in Execution. And was in all probability imposed upon, as the good Bishops of the Council were in the Condemnation of Athanafius. For it was all grounded upon the Acts of the Tyrian Council, and had they been legal his Deposition had been but just, so that their validity being (as here it was) suppofed, no wonder that the Bishops Vote so freely against him, though for the most part neither Arians nor Eusebians. Council at Sardica was a full and free Council, and though the Eusebians were forced to be cross and peevish in their own defence, yet all things were managed in the Council it felf fairly and candidly, without any appearance of force or fraud in the Emperor, infomuch that when the banisht Bishops were restored to the Exercise of their Function by the Decree of the Council, he restored them too to the possession of their Bishopricks, by his Imperial Rescript. The first Synod at Milan was wholly Western, and under the Jurisdiction of the Emperour Constans, where they had all free liberty both

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both of debating and determining as they So that hitherto all Powers, pleafed. Priviledges, and Jurisdictions in the Church were preserved, as far as the Emperours were concern'd, but after the death of Constans, the overthrow of Magnentius, and the murther of Gallus, when Constantius run mad either through guilt or infolence, we read of nothing but Fury and Tyranny. For in the year 355, when Gallus was murthered, he fummons, or rather musters a Council at Arles for the Condemnation of Athanafius, commands the Bishops to subscribe it, and banishes Paulinus of Trevers for refusing the Subscription. In the same year meets the second Council at Milan, and that for the same purpose, in which Eusebius of Verselles, Liberius of Rome, and at last Hofius of Corduba are fent on the same Errand after Paulinus for the fame Offence. In the year 357 follows the Council of Sirmium, where, as we have feen, all things were carried by Then comes the Council of Ariminum in the year 359, where a Council of near 400 Bishops are compelled to subfcribe and fubmit to the pleasure of Va-lens and his fifty Men. The Council of Seleucia came to the worst end of all, being only a contest between the Eusebians

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bians and Acacians, who finding themfelves over-numbred, appeal to the Emperor, and are received by him, draw up a new Creed, in which they not only cathiere the word ouoso . but ( as they phrased them ) all other Exotick words. And this indefinite Faith is imposed upon all Christian Bishops by an Imperial Refeript upon pain of banishment; by which the Acacians outed the Eusebians. and fo got themselves into the best and fattest Preferments. In the year 360 comes the last Conventicle of Antioch, in which Meletius Bishop of Antioch was deposed for afferting the Nicene Creed, and that against the Publick Faith of the Emperour, given him under Hand and Seal for his Security. These were wild actings in the Church, but they all followed the Magnentian and Gallian madness, and that is the excuse that is made for him by Athanasius himself, that after Ep. ad Sothat he was not himself, but was entire-lit. ly govern'd by other Men, that (as he expresses it ) had no more brains in their Skuls then in their Toes. But before this time of outrage and distraction he kept up that reverence and regard that is due to that Authority, that our Bleffed Saviour has committed to his Church. Nay even after this loofing himfelf and his

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his understanding by getting the whole World, he kept up that respect to our Saviour's Institution, as at least to Warrant all his irregular Proceedings by a flew of its Authority. For though he endeavour'd to carry all things by force and violence, yet he never attempted any thing without a pretended Council. This was the Interval of time, in which the Ancients complain of his invading the Power of the Church, and as it were by these wild Practices, thrusting himfelf into the Evangelical Priest-hood. Thus was it in the year 355, immediately after the mad Council at Milan, when the Dialogue between the Emperour and Liberius Bishop of Rome pass't, in which Liberius insists upon that one Proposal, that the Emperour would be pleased to call a free Council, and not over-aw it by his own Sovereign Power. Ep. ad So-11. p.833. F. mon'd, but not to Court, where nei-

'there be an Ecclesialtical Synod Sumther the Emperor himself, nor any of 'his Lords, or Judges commands by threatning, but where the fear of God 'alone determines all things. And for flicking to this Proposition, and refusing to act in an Ecclesiastical Sentence, till it was granted, he is fent into banishment. In the fame year, and upon the fame occalion

Athanas.

casion it was that the wife Hofius gave him that famous advice. Tibi Deus Imperium commist, nobis que sunt Eccleste concredidit. Et quemadmodum qui tuum Imperium malignis oculis carpit, contradicit ordinationi divinæ : Ita & tu cave, ne quæ sunt Ecclesiæ ad te trabens, magno crimini obnoxius fias; neque enim fas est nobis in terris Imperium tenere, neque tu thymiatum & sacrorum potestatem habes, Imperator. God has committed 'the Empire to you, the Church to us, and as he would rebel against God, that ' should malign your Authority, so take heed left by drawing the Affairs of the 'Church to your felf, you prove guilty of the fame Rebellion: for as it is a fin 'in us to challenge any temporal Authority; fo know, O Emperor, that you have not the power of the holy Function. This was plain dealing, and but necessary at that time, when he had made fo foul an inrode upon the Jurifdictions and Liberties of the Church, and overborn all its Divine Authority by Military force and fury. So that his meaning was not, as the Romanists would have it, to cut off the Emperor from all interpoling in Church Affairs, because he that had been fo much employed in them under Constantine, could not think it un**lawful** 

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lawful in it felf. But though that be no fault but a duty, yet to use his Authority with meer force and violence, to destroy the Judgment of the Governors of the Church by compulsion in matters of Faith, and to take upon himself the determination of them, as he had in effect done, and that in contradiction to the Authority of a General Council, was fuch a bold contempt of our Saviour's Institution, and such an Invasion of the rights of his Kingdom, that the good Bishop could do no less then threaten it with the Terrors of the last day. About the same time St. Hilary address't his Apology in behalf of the Catholicks to the Emperor, where among divers other abuses, that he Petitions to be redress't, this is none of the leaft. Provideat & decernat Clementia vestra, ut omnes ubique Judices, quibus Provinciarum administrationes creditæ sunt, ad quos sola cura & Solicitudo publicorum negotiorum pertinere debet, à religiosa se observantia ab-Stineant: neque postbac præsumant, atque usurpent. & putent se causas cognoscere Clericorum & innocentes homines variis afflictationibus, minis, violentia, terroribus frangere atque vexare. That was the deplorable State of the Church at that time, that the Emperor's Prefects and

and Officers took upon them a Power of Summoning the Orthodox Clergy to their Tribunals to give an account of their Faith, and to banish them if they refused compliance with the Emperor's Will, and not only fo, but to take the Accusations of their Enemies against them, and right or wrong, and without any regard to Justice, or understanding the merits of the Cause, inflict upon them their own Arbitrary punishments. just complaint of St. Hilary, and the oppress't Catholiques so wrought with the Emperor, that notwithstanding his outrage against them, because his Affairs in France were then embroil'd by the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations, he publishes that seemingly kind Rescript in Answer to their Request. Mansuetu- De Episco dinis nostræ lege prohibemus in Judiciisclw.l. 12. Episcopos accusari, &c. 'Commanding that the Accusations of Bishops should 'not be brought before Secular Magistrates, lest it should give too much encouragement to wicked Men to oppress them with flanders, and therefore at any Man have a complaint against them, 'let it be Examin'd before the Bishops, that fo every cause might be determin'd by its proper Judicature. This is a fingular Law, and has scarce any other page

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rallel with it in the whole Code, for though there are divers Laws of other Emperors, that refer all Controversies about Religion to the Episcopal Audience, yet as for the Criminal causes of Ecclefiastical Persons, I do not remember any beside this that wholly exempted them from the cognisance of their own Courts. And therefore that this Emperor should grant fuch an Universal exemption feems a courtesie more then ordinary, and is thought to have been meerly extorted by the importunity of the Catholick Bishops, and the present difficulty of his own Affairs. And that they then infifted upon the exemption of Ecclesiastical Perfons as well as Causes, it was for a reafon peculiar to the State of the Controversie at that time, that was then managed, not fo much by Arguments as Accufations, though that weapon was chiefly employed against the great Athanasius, into whose single Person the Controverfie was at last contracted, and the Parties were distinguisht by nothing but fubscribing and resusing his Condemnation. For he being the great Pillar of the Catholick Cause, the Eusebians knew well enough that if they could but blow him up, the cause must fall with him, and for that reason is it that they all along

long labour'd fo hard to overwhelm him with Criminal Accufations. And therefore the Catholicks perceiving their fraud. interposed as vehemently in defence of Athanafius as of their Faith because all the blows that were levell'd at him were fupposed to aim at that, infomuch that to fubscribe his Condemnation was the fame thing as to quit the Party, as we have feen in the case of Pope Liberius. And for this reason chiefly it was necessary at that time, that the Emperor if he would refer the Ecclefiaftical Controverfie then on foot to the Bilhops, he frould do the same as to the Criminal Causes of the Clergy, because they were then univerfally join'd together. And yet as kind as this Law might appear to be in relieving them from the oppressions of the Imperial Courts, it was but a fraudulent favour, and only delign'd to enfnare the Catholicks. For this gracious Rescript was publishe in the same year, in which he call'd the violent Council at Milan, that was on purpose packt out of the fiercest Eufebians, to carry things thorough with an high hand, and without any contradiction. So that when in this Refcript he refer'd the Orthodox Bishops to an Ecclefiaftical Judgment, he defigned nothing but their Oppression in this Nnz mad

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mad Council; and that it is evident, was fo far from any kindness, that it was the sharpest severity he could have contrived against them : For if they had just ground of complaint against the unjust actings of the Secular Courts, because they were not their proper Judicatures, yet when they were fo rudely outraged in Council, as it was done in the proper Court, fo was it at their own request; and that both took away all ground of complaint, and left them without any means of relief. Gothofred has a Conjecture, that this Rescript was Enacted not before but after the Council. and that in favour of the Eusebians, who were overcome by the Orthodox at their own weapon of Accusation; and yet by the partiality of the Council were protected, whilst the Catholicks were oppressed and denyed the very formalities of Justice; this, says the Learned Man, might provoke them to make their Appeals to the Secular Courts, where they might at least hope to meet with some humanity and regard to the Laws: And therefore the Emperor to fpoil this shift, brings them all back to the Ecclesiastical Judicature, that if they would come thither, there they might be heard, but no where elfe. But this contradicts the whole

whole state of Affairs at that time, when the partiality and oppression of the Se-cular Judges was the universal Groan of the Catholicks, and when this Rescript was enacted upon or at least after their reiterated complaints against it, and therefore there is no ground to imagine that the Catholicks, how much foever oppressed in Council, would think of feeking relief there. But whatever was the intent of the Rescript (and no doubt it was malicious enough ) it is certain that it was at least pretended to be granted upon the complaint of the Catholicks against the Secular Courts for taking to themselves the Judgment of Controversies of Faith, whereas they ought to have referred them to the Synods of Bishops, whom our Saviour had appointed to be the proper Guides and Judges in those matters. And that is the meaning of Hofius and the rest in their reproofs of the Emperor, not that he used his Authority in the Church, but that he abused it by opposing it to the determination of a general Council, by whose advice he ought both as a wife Man and a good Christian, to have been directed in the use of his Power in such matters. And that was the grand miscarriage of his Reign, that he would not fit down fatis-Nn 3

fazisfied under the Authentique and Solemn determination of fo great a Council: which if he had done as his Father did, he had escaped all that tedious risk of trouble, which he created both to himfelf and to the Church through his whole Reign. But however it is evident from all the Premisses, that how enormously foever he abused his own Power in the Church, he never attempted to Usurp the Churches Power, and he never took upon him to make any Alterations in the Faith, till they were first made and decreed in Council; and though he destroyed the Use and Authority of Councils by denying freedom of Vote, yet that was an abuse of his Power, not an usurpation of theirs. For that he ever own'd with a Religious regard in his most unwarrantable Oppressions. And as I have observed at the beginning he shewed greater respect to the Power of the Church then any Emperor in the whole Succession, when he called such sholes of Councils, only to have his Will of one Man, and one Word, which he durft not controul himself, because they had been own'd and justified by the Churches Authority. And if we carefully observe his motions, we shall find him a cordial friend both to the Church and to Religi-

on, and the end of all his mistaken Zeal was the lasting settlement of Peace and Concord, that was the word that he had always in his mouth; all the misfortune was, that he fell into ill hands, and by their advice endeavour'd it the wrong way. His high Opinion of the honesty of fome ill Church-Men, was the Principle that exposed him to all that abuse that was put upon him all his life time. It was his confidence in Eusebius and his Partifans that did drive him into that unhappy course that he took for the attainment of his defired Peace. All their advice was Oracle to him, and made him both deaf and blind to all other information. But otherwise setting aside this unhappy overfight of being over-rul'd by ill Men, he feems to have been fo far from all thoughts of robbing the Church of its own inherent rights, that he thought he could never thew it kindness enough, by heaping continual favours of his own upon it, he granted it more Priviledges and greater Immunities then any other Emperor; and whereas his Father Constantine only exempted Ecclefiafticks from all Personal burthens in the Common-wealth, he has in divers Rescripts freed them from all manner of Taxes and Impositions whatsoever; and Nn4

a very little time before his death he publisht an Edict to Establish the perpetual fecurity of all his former Grants, with this reason at the end of it, as it were his dying words, Gaudere enim & gloriari ex pe Epise ing words, Gaudere enim & gloriari ex Ecclif & fide semper volumus of scientes, magis Re-cler 1. 16. fide semper volumus of scientes, magis Religionibus quam Officiis & Labore corporis, vel sudore nostram rempublicam contineri, i. e. as Gothofred paraphrases it, We freely grant all these Immunities to the Ministers of Religion, as knowing that the Publick Weal will lose nothing by all their exemptions from its service, but gain greater bleffings from their Prayers and Devotions, then they could have contributed to it by any other way of Attendance. And this very thing is all along upbraided to him by the counterfeit Hilary, in his Book against him, that whilst he pretended so much kindness to the Christian Church and Clergy, he by his ill Government betrayed the one and oppress't the other. Auro reipublicæ Sanctum Dei honoras, & vel detracta templis, vel publicata Edictis, vel exacta pænis Deo ingeris. Osculo Sacerdotes excipis, quo & Christus est proditus : Caput benedictioni summittis, ut fidem calces: convivio dignaris, ex quo Judas ad proditionem egressus est: censum capitum remittis quem Christus, ne Scandalo effet,

exolvit :

exolvit : Vectigalia Cefar donas, ut ad negationem Christianos invites : quæ tua funt, relaxas, nt quæ Dei funt, amittantur. So that it is evident from his Story and the Confession of his Enemies, that he was a true lover of the Christian Church. and a zealous Promoter of Religion, and only miscarried by following the advice of the Eusebians, which they gave him for their own ends, and with what grofness they abused him all along we have feen through every Stage of his life. And this is the ground of those high Commendations that are given him by Gregory Nazianzen, because he was of himself a true lover of Religion, and defigned nothing but the Peace and fettlement of the Church, though under that plaufible pretence his good nature and integrity were imposed upon by wicked Men, to compass their own wicked defigns against the true peace of the Catholick Church. And that was the folly and misfortune that they drew him into, not to acquiesce in the Authoritative determination of the Church, in fo great a Council as that of Nice, which had he done, it had continued in the fame Peace, and Tranquility, in which his Father left But when instead of that he endeavoured to remove the fetled Foundation.

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as it was laid by the true and proper Builders; it is no wonder if the whole Fabrick fell upon his own head, and buried his whole Reign under its Ruins. And it is very likely that his impatience under so awkerd a Burthen, when he could not clear himself of it, put him at last upon those angry courses, that he took to obtain his Will. And as at last it perplext, so it debaucht his Government, for till the Conquest of Magnentius he feem'd to have behaved himself like a wife and able Prince, but had not leifure to attempt, much less perform any thing great, by reason of his perpetual attendance upon this Controversie. And that may be a warning to all Princes, That when a Controversie of Religion is once laid by a fair and legal decision, to beware how they fuffer it to rife again, lest it prove too strong and stubborn to submit to a second Exorcifm.

However by the different behaviour of these two Princes in interposing in the Controversies of the Church, and the different event of their actings in it, we have before our Eyes clear examples of right and wrong methods of Government. Constantine when he found a Faction in the Church, settles peace by the Authori-

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Authority of the Church, without putting any restraints upon it; and what that determin'd he first made a Law to himself, and then to his Subjects, and would never after permit it to be call'd in question; and by this means he quell'd a dangerous Faction, and freed himfelf from any direct disturbance from it all his own Reign. But his Son Conftantius on the contrary not acquiescing in the Canonical determination of the Church, broke down all the Banks of Government, and let in that Inundation of Dispute that overwhelm'd his whole Reign But being fensible of the trouble that he had brought upon himfelf by having once difmantled the Churches Authority, he thought to help himself out by retrieving its force, but still the more he strugled the more he entangled himself, because instead of feeling things by fair and free Councils (and unless they are so, they are no Councils of Christs Officers, but meer Executioners of the Princes Commands ) himself ever endeavour'd to over-rule all the Councils that he call'd, either by fraud or violence. And then no wonder when they were so hamper'd, if they were not able to attain the end of their Instituti-And that was the fatal miscarriage on.

of his Reign, his garbling the Authority of Councils, turning them into Courts of Guards, and abetting forty or fifty Seditious Men against the whole Body of Catholick Bishops, otherwise if they had been permitted the free exercise of their own proper Authority, all things had been carried with that gravity and decency that became the Christian Church as we fee by the great Councils of Sardica and Ariminum, that had effectually fetled the Nicene Faith, had not the Emperor cut afunder their Decrees with his Sword, and fet up an Eusebian Rump in defiance and opposition to the whole And therefore whereas forme Men are pleafed to upbraid the Churches Authority with the miscarriages of these Councils under Constantius, they might have been pleased too to consider, that the main Body of Christian Bishors discharged their duty with entire faithfulness and integrity, and that it was only the Emperor and his Court-parafites that were guilty of all the Exorbitancies committed in the Church in his time, which he committed fo altogether with out the Churches confent, that by them he oppressed it with all the outrage and violence of Persecution. But from this clamour raised against the Authority of the

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the Church upon this account, and kept up at this very day with so much confidence (for we find it among the doleful invectives of R. B. against the ancient Bishops in his Book of Crudities,) we may see what a pleasure and satisfaction it is to men of some tempers to be venting their ill nature against the true old Christian Church.

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But Secondly, as the Emperour in all his exorbitant actings own'd and suppofed the power of the Church, fo the Catholicks submitted to all their sufferings under him with the same patience and upon the same Principle that they did to the Heathen Emperours. And this is most remarkable in the Case of Athanasius, who though he was persecuted and provoked beyond all Patience for the Establish Religion of the Empire, but among infinite other flanders that were loaded upon him, is charged with Treafon and Disloyalty, yet for all this he is nice and punctual in his Obedience to all the Emperours commands even against himself, and does with the greatest indignation detest the least thought of difrespect or disloyalty to his Sovereign Lord. Thus when his Enemies had flandered him to the Emperour Constantius for having spoken ill things of him, and done ill Offices

Offices between him and his Brother Constans, he defies the Calumny a thoufand times over \* as only fit to be laid upon a distracted Man, and calls God Budvnv, &c. p.674 and his Holy Angels to witness, how far it was from his thoughts and his Principles to speak the least ill word of a Sovereign Prince. And when in the fecond place they charged him for having held correspondence with the Rebel Mag. nentius, here he professes himself amazed and confounded with the greatness of the Lye, and wonders how any man should be so strangely beside him elf, as to feign fuch an incredible Calumny against him \*. He be such a Beast as to be triend EP ETT TEto fuch a Monster as had Rebell'd against To Esviand Murther'd his Royal Mafter! No, he Zouevos, p. ●78. D. would rather dye Ten Thousand Deaths then be guilty of one fuch Difloyal + ib.p.681. Though . + And befeethes the Emperour

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Though . † And bescettes the Emperour that he would never entertain such an hard opinion of the Christian Church, as if it were possible for Christians, but much more Bishops to entertain any thoughts like Disloyalty, and invokes the God of Heaven and Earth, who gave the Empire to Constantius, and to whom alone he could appeal from him as being his only Superiour, to clear his innocence from so foul a Calumny. And whereas

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whereas in the third place they object, that when the Emperour commanded his departure from Alexandria, he refused to o. bey it. To this he answers \*God forbid that + ? ..... I should be such a wretch as to flite any sur &c. ?. of his Majesties Commands. No, he 686. B. made Conscience of refusing Obedience but to the Questor of a City, much more to his Sovereign Lord the Emperour.\* Then discovers to him how the Eu- + 16, 687. febians had forged Letters in the Empe- D. rours Name for his Banishment, and tells him that it was upon the affurance of the Forgery that he refused complyance, but otherwise assures him that he is not so mad as to disobey any of his own Commands whatfoever, fo that if he had been pleased to Command him from Alexandria, he would have been gone at the first notice, and prevented the Command by the promptness of his Obedience. The fense of all which is, that it is no less then downright madness for any man that pretends to Christianity to make refiftance to any Commands of his Sovereign Prince, and this he writes whilft he was forced for the fecurity of his life to lye conceal'd in the Wilderness, after he had been persecuted by Constantius with the utmost rancour, and a thousand times worse then a Mid-night Robber for

above twenty years together, and in truth had fuffered such things from his hands, as never any other Subject did from any Prince. For his Case is singular and has nothing like it in Story, Constantins his treating of him exceeded the injustice and cruelty of all the Heathen Tyrants; and yet after all this prodigious and unparallel'd Provocation, not only against the Laws of the Empire but of all Humanity, how tender is this great spirited Man of making the least abatement of respect and duty to his Prince? However he was pleased to treat him, he was obliged by his Religion as he would acquit himself from madness, not so much as to entertain a thought of the least refistance to any of his Commands; in shortc, on sidering the strange usage he had met with from the Emperour through his whole life, his Story is the greatest instance and demonstration of a religious Sense of Loyalty, that is upon Re-

It is true that Lucifer Calaritanus beflowed his rude Language upon the Emperour liberally enough, but he was a man of a prodigiously fierce & implacable nature, as appears by the Schism that he made in the Church, leaving its Communion rather then be reconciled to any of the Arian

or Eusebian Clergy upon their repentance and fubmiffion, which was such a piece of fowreness and austerity, as could not but eat up all Sense of civility and good manners, and therefore it is no wonder if a man of fuch a splenetick temper were fo free of his Contumelious Language without respect of Persons, especially when his natural rudeness was heightned and emproved by that false Principle, that Christian Bishops might treat Heretick Princes after the same rate, that the Prophets in the Old Testament did Apostate Princes, and by that he answers Constantius his complaint of rudeness and infolence against him. Dixisti passum te De non ac pati a nobis contra monita facrarum parcendum scripturarum contumeliam, dicis nos infolen- Deling.p. ti tes extitisse circa te, quem honorari decuerit, quasi quisquam dei cultorum pepercit Apostatis: 'You complain that we have given you contumelious language against the commands of the Holy Scriptures, you say that we behave our felves after an infolent manner towards you, whom we ought to honour, as if any Servant of God were to spare Apostates. And then proceeds to a Catalogue of all the prophetick burthens against Apostate and Idolatrous Princes in the Old Testament.

But I am not at all concern'd to excuse

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him when he quitted the Catholick Communion and joyned Faction with the Rebel Puritans the Donatifts, as we have feen above. Though this is to be faid for him, that how far foever he might proceed in foul Language, he was so far from making any invitation to proceed to violent Actions; that he concludes his whole Book with a passionate exhortation to Patience and Martyrdom. So that hitherto the Doctrine of resistance to Sovereign Princes, in any circumstances whatsoever, or upon any pretence whatsoever, but especially of Religion is an utter Stranger to the Catholick Church.

6. XIX. And now are we Arrived at a firange and furprizing Revolution of things under the Reign of Julian, who no fooner came to the Crown, then he endeavour'd by all the ways of fraud and force to destroy the Establish't Religion of the Empire in order to the Reduction of the old Paganism and Idolatry. And confidering the flortness of his Reign; he was a hercer and more outragious Enemy to the Christian Church, then any or indeed all the ancient Persecutors but together. And yet notwithstanding all the wildness of his fury, they think themfelves obliged by the Fundamental Laws bif

of their Religion to pay him the fame duty of Loyalty and Allegiance, that they payed to the Christian Emperours. But the History of his Reign has of late been made the Subject even of popular discourse, and that will in a great meafure prevent me in this part of my undertaking, the Trifle of Julian having received fufficient Correction, and much more then it deserved, and I doubt the Jest is now spoil'd, and the jolly Doctrine prevented from being popular, by its unhappy Application. But notwithstanding that I shall proceed in my old Method to shew, first how the Church took care to Govern and preserve it self by its own Authority against all the Apostates Oppofition, and by the right and effectual exercise of it, was too hard for all his Politicks against it. And Secondly what a tender and a religious sense of Duty and Loyalty they profest and practifed towards him in fpight of his unparallel'd Provocations. Of which I shall endeayour fo to discourse, as not to repete or interfere with other Mens Observations.

As for the first, it is highly observable that when the Apostate came to the Empire, he was all on fire for the destruction of Christianity out of it, for though he

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had suppress't his Apostacy all the time of Constantius, yet his zeal was perpetually boiling in his Breast, and impatient to burst into open Liberty. And therefore the very first moment of Opportunity, that it had to discover it felf, it broke forth (as Gregory Nazianzen often compares it ) like fire from its confinement. He immediately commands all the Heathen Temples to be opened, and the Sacrifices to be brought to the Altars, folemny renounces his Christianity, and purges away his Baptism with the Blood of Sacrifices, is immediately install'd into the old and abrogated dignity of Pontifex Maximus, and officiates at the Heathen Rites in his own Person. So that tho the former Emperours took it to themfelves only as a Title of Honour, he ridiculously takes the Office too, and acts all the Phantastick Postures and Pageantries of the Heathen Priests. And the fury of his zeal swell'd so high, that nothing less would serve his turn then to be created a Priest of the Eleusinian Mysteries, because those were esteemed the most facred and recondite part of their Religion. And then he goes on every where to re-edifie and adorn the Heathen Temples, and to place Heathen Priests in them. And having thus in the first place

place taken all fpeedy care for the re fer-element of his own Religion, his next thought is how to contrive the utter extirpation of the Galilæans, as he always stild the Christians in contempt and derifion. The best and most obvious Policy that he could pitch upon for that, was to bring confusion into the Church. For which purpose he grants Liberty of Conscience to all Factions, calls back all the banish't Bishops, particularly Athanasius, Eusebius of Verselles, and St. Hilary, reflores all the Hereticks, particularly Aetius, whom he invites to Court, and returns all their Churches to the Novatian Schif maticks, and what mighty endearments there were between the Apostate and the Donatists, we have seen above in their History. Now from an uncontroll'd licentiousness granted to such a vast variety of quarrelfome People, he doubted not to make the Church contemptible to all the World by turning it into a Coun-ter-fouffle. For he look t upon the Chriflians as the most contentious Sect in it, \* Nullas, usually saying \* that no wild Beasts were infestas fo fierce against men, as Christians were bus besti-against one another. And this Character as, nt sunt of the contentiousness of Christians a-plerique mong themselves he could not but take Christiaup from his Observation of the Cruelty Marcel. I. and 22. 6. 5 003.

towards the Orthodox under his Predeceffor, that indeed exceeded the falvageness of all wild Beasts. But supposing them never fo tame, nothing less then everlasting confusion could be expected from fuch an unbounded licentiousness. As Sozomen observes that it was not done out of any kindness, but that the Church might destroy it self by mutual discord and Civil War. And yet alass so far was he from attaining his ends, that his malice was utterly defeated by the wisdom of the good Bishops; for they being now freed from that violence and oppression, that was put upon the Discipline of the Church, by Constantius with his Prefects and Eunuchs; and so being at liberty to exert that power, that was fettled upon them by our bleffed Saviour, they effectually restored that Peace and Concord to the Church, which they could never compass under the oppressive Reign of Constantius, put an end to the vexatious Arian Controversie, establish't the Nicene Faith over all the Christian World. and prevented new Schisms and Factions, that were at that time breaking out in the Christian Church.

For after the death of George the Saint (who was barbaroufly Murthered by the Heathens for affronting their Religion, or rather robbing their Temples, ) as 'tis attested both by Ammianus Marcellinus, and all the Christian Historians, but most expresly by Julians own Letter to the Alexandrians, where he bespeaks the Actors as true Worshippers of the Gods, and blames them for having committed Lib: 7- 4 fo cruel a Riot out of an over warm zeal for their Religion, yet Philostergius and Sandius have the Grace to fay, That the Fact was committed by the Followers of Athanasius, and that they were set on by himself, (though he were then absent out of the City. ) After this Athanafus. returns to Alexandria, where he is no fooner come then he calls a Council for refettling the State of the Catholick Church, that had been interrupted by Constantius his fierce and long Oppression, of it. And at this Council the Famous Eulebius of Verselles was present, as he return d from his banishment in the higher Thebais, though the Roman Writers will have it, that he came as the Popes Legate, without any Authority for it but their own bold. Affertion, and on the contrary he was fo far from coming with any Commission from Rome, that he 004 came.

came from a quite distant part of the World, and only took in Alexandria in his

And now here the first question is, as

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in all other Perfecutions, concerning the Laph, or those Bishops that had joyn'd with the Arians or Eusebians in any of Constantius his Councils, whether upon their return to the Catholick Church they should be received in their Episcopal Capacity, or only according to rigour of Canon, be admitted to Lay-Communion. But here the Fathers incline to the milder Sentence, following the Example of the Nicene Council, who received the Novatian Bishops in their Episcopal Gapacity to Communion. And thus they order here that the Bishops that had joyn'd with the Hereticks either out of ignorance, or by furprize, or through meer force should be received without deprivation of dignity. And in this they rather shewed Justice then Mercy, for in all those Transactions, as we have seen above, there appear'd nothing of Arianism above, board, and at the same time that they quitted Consubstantiality for Peace fake, they anathematifed all the Points of the Arian Herefie. So that

their complyance, though it was a defect

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V. Atha. naf. Epift. ad Ruffi-#147. um.

in prudence, it was no Apostacy from the Orthodox Faith. And if the leading Eusebians had a design by removing that word to supplant and undermine the true Faith, as tis plain by the last issue of all that some of them had, i. e. Valens and his Party, yet that was kept fecret among themselves, and honest well meaning Men had no ground to suspect it, because it was always protested against. And it is certain that the greatest part of them had no fuch design, for Basilius and all his Party, who so fiercely oppofed the Acacians, when they turn'd Arians, had been all along vehement Eufebians and Enemies to Consubstantiality. And therefore it is evident that their zeal against that was not at all for any love of Arianism, but only of the Peace of the Church, which they conceived to be obstructed by that unscriptural and unwarrantable Word. And therefore it was no fuch kindness to receive such Persons, as had innocently join'd with them, upon fuch easie terms, when by it they were not in the least tainted with the Herefie it felf, and fo St. Ferom him- Adv. Luciself states it. Post reditum Confessorum fer. Tom. 2. in Alexandrina postea Synodo constitutum est, ut exceptis Auctoribus Hæreseos, quos

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Error excusare non poterat, ponitentes Ecclefiæ sociarentur, non guod Episcopi possint ese, qui Hæretici fuerant, sed quod constaret eos, qui reciperentur, Hæreticos non fuiffe. 'After the Return of the Confessors from banishment, it was decreed in a Synod at Alexandria, That excepting the Authors of the Herefie, that no. furprise can excuse, the Repenting Bihops should be received, not that they could be Bishops, that had been Hereticks but because it was evident that they that were received had not been Hereticks. And as for their depriving the Authors and Ring-leaders of the Herefie forever, so as never to be raised above Lay-Communion, that was no feverity, but agreeable to the standing discipline of the Church. And in the next place whereas there had been lately started an unhappy Controverse between the Greeks and Latins, concerning the Words Hypostafis and Persona, because the word Hypostasis being Synonia mous with sola, when the Greeks profes't the belief of three Hypostases, they feem'd to the Latins to own three diflinct Substances: And the Latins, who rejected that word, and in lieu of it used the word Persona, seem'd not to affert any thing real, but a meer relative di-Stinction,

stinction, the word Persona being generally used to denote not the Man himfelf, but his Office and Relation. This contest run very high, as Nazianzen informs us, to the endangering a breach between the Churches, and therefore St. Athanasius prudently proposes that both words should be promiseuously ufed in both Churches, and that would effectually take away the Jealousie on both fides, and fo it did, for it filenced the controversie forever, and it continues so fettled to this very day. And lastly, whereas some Men cryed up the Confession of Faith presented by the Eusebian Party to the Council at Sandica, as if the Council had approved of it, they declare that it was utterly rejected by the Council, and that it refused to alter any thing of the Nicene Faith. These Decrees, with fome other, they draw up in an Encyclical Epiftle to the Bishops of the Christian World. And after the same manner that Athanafius bestir'd himself for the fettlement of the Church in Africa. St. Hilary labours for the Restitution of the Church of France, where he procures frequent Councils, particularly one at Paris, to condemn the proceedings at Ariminum, and restore the Church to that Ancient State, that it enjoyed before

fore Constantius his Invasion upon its Liberties, and here they unanimously declared, That when they subscribed the Creed of Ariminum, in which the word sola was omitted, they were meerly over-reach't, and take the Sacrament upon it, that they suspected no harm, and abhorred the consequences that were made out of it by ill Men, and therefore desire pardon of the World for what they had been surprised into by meer ignorance, and in this they were so unanimous, that there was but one dissenting Bishop in all France, that is Saturninus

Illud apud omnes constitit, unius Hilarii beneficio Gallias nostras piaculo bæresis liberatas. Sulp. Sev l. 2.

of Arles, whom they deposed, and thus says the Historian, was all France purged of Heresie by the Authority of one Man. And the same, thing, was

done at the fame time in the Eastern Church, as appears by the Synodical Epistle of the French-Bishops to the Oriental Bishops, which is nothing else then an answer to their Epistle, declaring their concurrence with their Proceedings. And thus was this Evil Spirit of Arianism, that had for so many years posses t and tormented the Christian Church, and that

that Constantius had in vain taken fo much pains to exorcife by his own Authority, thus I say it was at last easily cast out by the Power and Efficacy of the Apostolical Rod.

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But the Apostate finding the Peace of the Christian Church so well setled, he grows into a rage to fee both his wit and his malice fo dexteroufly defeated, and now can diffemble no longer, pulls off his Vizor of pretended Kindness, and turns open Persecutor. And in the first place he flies upon Athanafius, who had with wonderful fuccess advanced Christianity in Alexandria, and therefore upon pain of death he must immediately This the Emperor with Juliani E. leave the City. great fierceness commands both the Ci-pift. 6. 4. tizens of Alexandria, and Ecdicius the Prefect of Egypt, to put in Execution under the feverest Penalties. And here he brings off his former feeming Lenity to the Galilean or Christian Bishops, that he had restored from Banishment, with this flender sham, that he only gave them leave to return to their own Countries, but never intended to restore them to the Jurisdiction of their Churches. therefore Athanafius, having prefum'd to usurp his Episcopal Seat without the Imperial Grant, must once more be gone.

And accordingly he withdraws, with this comfort to his friends, that were weeping at his departure, that it was but a flying shower, and would foon be over. But if he had not made haft, it had not only wet him to the skin, but overwhelm'd him forever, for now the Apostate becomes Treacherous and Cruel and privately fends his Affaffinates to cut his Throat. Of this Athanafius being inform'd, he immediately takes Boat for Thebais, but being close purfued by the Murtherers, instead of Landing and Shell tring himself in the Woods, as his friends advised him, he according to his usual readiness of Wit, commands the Boat-man to row back to Alexandria, and meeting with the other Boat that purfued him, the Captain of the Cut-throats calls to them, to know whether they met Athanafins, and how far off they might suppose him to be? Athanafius himself answers, That he knew him very well. and that he was hard by, bids them row hard, and then there could be no doubt but that they must overtake him, and to for that time he escapes to Alexandria, and there lyes hid till the Storm was over. But the Prefects feeing the Emperour's mighty Zeal, and being themselves great Patriots of the Superstition:

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tion ( he having displaced all Constantins his Prefects, and put in Bigots of his own Religion ) having fo fair an Example from their Master, resolve, as it always happens in fuch Cases, to outrun his leading Zeal. And therefore in all places profecute the Christians with all kind of Cruelty and Oppression: And if they complain'd to the Emperor himself, they had no redress, but were only flouted with that filly and prophane Sarcasm, That fuffering was the duty of their Religion. And that was his daily practice, and much becoming the gravity of an Emperor and a Philosopher too, to play fuch childish and perverse Glosses upon our Saviour's Precepts. But he rested not here, but when he resolved upon his Persian Expedition, he imposes a Tax upon all that refused to Sacrifice to the Gods, according to the ability of the Perfor for the maintenance of the War, and if any complain'd of the Exactions of his Officers, then his standing Jest was, That Poverty was not only their duty but their advantage. And when he robid the Church of its Treafury, he feafon'd his Sacriledge with this abusive Sarcaire, Se Christianes expeditiores facene ad Regnum Calorum, quia Galilseus Magister ipsorum dixerit; beatos esse panperes.

peres, quoniam talium est regnum Cælo-rum: 'That he only did it, to conveigh the Christians with the more ease to Heaven, because the Galilaan their Mafer declared, that bleffed are the Poor. for of fuch is the Kingdom of Heaven. But besides this, he disbands all Officers that refuse to Sacrifice, and hereupon Valentinian and Valens, that were then great Commanders, and afterwards Emperors, peaceably laid down their Arms: declaring themselves ready to suffer any thing, rather then wrong their Confciences or betray their Religion. Whereas those who profess't it in the time of Constantine and Constantius, only for Worldly Interest and Advantage, readily complyed with all his Impositions, and among thefe that famous Weather-cock Ecebolius the Sophist marched in the first rank: Before Julian's time he was a Zealous Christian; under him a furious Pagan; after him a Christian again to that sneaking degree, that he would lye bellowing upon the threshold of the Church doors, begging all Christians, that passed over him, to trample upon him as infatuated Salt. And thus in short ( to pass by many more arts of Oppression ) he pursued the Christians with as vehement Outrage, but much more provoking Contempt

tempt then any of the old Persecutors. Continually breaking Jefts, not only upon their Religion but their Miseries: which is not only to wound a Man, but to rub Salt and pour Vinegar upon his Sores, a piece of Barbarity that was peculiar to Julian alone. And no Man, but the greatest Pedant in the World (and fo was he) could have condescended to so mean

a piece of malice and revenge.

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And as he for his short Reign out Outraged all his Predecessors, in the \* fury \* v. Soz. and madness of his Persecution, so the 10, 11, Christians resolved to out do their An-chrysostom cestors in Patience and Passive Obedi-de Juven. ence under all his abusive Tyranny. And Greg. Naz. though they had the strength and the 120.1.7.86. Law of the Empire on their fide, yet be-& ing Christians they fcorn'd to make use of any other Weapons in defence of their Religion than Prayers and Tears. But though this is the bravest Example of the Doctrine and Practice of the Paffive Obedience of Christians, that we have upon Record in all the Annals of the Church, yet the World has been of late blefs't with a new discovery of I know not what strange, undutiful, unchristian, inhumane, and difloyal behaviour towards him, as exceeding the falvageness of Cannibals and Barbarians in contempt Pp

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and infolence, treating him with more roughness then a Mid-night Thief, or a High-way Robber.

6. XX. But first, if it were true, it is a very poor and impertinent Precedent to Warrant the new Christian-duty of our modern Apostates ( for all Rebel-Christians renounce Christianity with much more dishonour to it, then Julian himfelf ever did ) of Refistance and Rebellion to Sovereign Princes. For what if the Christians at that time had been really guilty of any miscarriages in that kind, what objection is that one miscarriage against the constant Doctrine and Tradition of the Christian Church in all Ages? This is to be taken from its general practice and fense, and not from the irregularities of a few private Persons, for it is too hard to expect that all Men should live up to their Principles, and that every one that profess't himself a Christian, should be free from all misdemeanours against his own Profession. That is too great a perfection to be required in this life. There is no Church but that in Heaven without some miscarriages and faulty Members, and therefore it is but a mean and childish undertaking, that argues great malice, and little

tle wit, though it were true, to find out in all the Records of the Church one or two inflances of old, in which the Christians did not behave themselves with that decency, as they ought and profess't. to owe to their Governors. For what if it be true? What does that prove, but that they were fo much Men, as fometimes to have fall'n short both of their Duty and Profession ? What is that against the general and declared Sense of the Church & Upon the same terms the Primitive Christians may be loaded with all the Crimes in the World, because some that professed Christianity, some time or other fell into all but this. What then, if it were true that the behaviour of fome Christians towards the Apostate, was not fuch as became their duty towards their Sovereign, what is that to the Sense of the Catholick Church in all Ages before; and for many after, to the year 1073? Can it reasonably be expected that in so long a Tract of time there should not be one instance of the miscarriage of Christians in this kind? and yet this at the best is the case of this wonderful Precedent, to overthrow the whole Catholick Doctrine of Passive Obedience. But Seditious Persons are fond of any Pretence, and will rather forfeit their Ppz

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Understanding, then not gratifie their ill-nature, how elfe could any Man be fo transported out of his common Sense from one miscarriage to warrant our imitation of it, against the constant sense of the Church for fo many Ages ? And yet with what joy and greediness has this poor trifle been embraced, as a new difcovery dropt from Heaven; and how confident are we that the Primitive Christians, were no such foftly fools ( as they have been hitherto represented) as to preach and practife that Sheepish Doctrine of Passive Obedience & Which only shews how ready some Parties of Men among us are for feizing any pretences for Refistance and Rebellion. Otherwise certainly if Men would Judge impartially, and without Faction, of this mighty work, the whole Mystery of it is no more then this, that an Industrious Searcher into the Records of the Church has at last found out one instance, in which formeChristians failed of their Duty to their Prince. A great performance this! worthy the applause and admiration of this learned Age; and therefore to deal civilly with it, I care not though I grant the truth of the Affertion, but then I must crave leave to let them know, that this is the only instance of this kind that hap'ned

hap'ned in Eleven hundred years. For that is the thing that I have undertaken to maintain, That from the beginning of Christianity down to the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh, who was the 159th Pope, and fucceeded not till the year 1073, no one Christian of the Western Church, no not a Pope, or taught or put in practice the Doctrine of Refistance to Sovereign Princes, or disown'd the duty of Passive Obedience. under the worst of Persecutors, and after this much good may this little Story of Julian do them. For they cannot but fee what a mean and foolish design it is to fet up one fingle Tale as a pro f of the Sense of the Primitive Christians, when it stands all alone, and is contrary to the declared Sense of the Catholick Church for fo many Ages. So that they gain fo little advantage to their Cause by this admired Performance, that it proves the most unlucky Argument, that could have been contrived against it. For this is a demonstration to all the World, that there is in all the Records of the Church but one Precedent of Christian disrespect or disobedience to persecuting Princes. And that is but a fingle exception to its universal practice, and if it be, it confesses its own Enormity from Pp3 it.

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it. So that methinks Men that defign'd to preach up Refistance and Rebellion from the Precedents of the Primitive Christians, should rather have taken any other method to abuse the People, then by telling them this single Story of further in the property of the property

Especially when it is so evident, that Christians before this time were become in a great measure like other Men, beeause when Christianity became the Religion of the Empire, and the darling of Princes, all Men would equally embrace it for present Advantage and Preferment. And in these circumstances bad Men will be fure to appear as forward in their Zeal as the best Christians, and generally to outstrip them in outward Appearance. So that if at that time there had been any Christians found guilty of difloyalty towards their Prince, what wonder is it, when fuch Numbers came into the Church, not for any love of the Religion, but for other ends and defigns of their

their own? And fuch Men were as effectually loose from all the Obligations of Christianity, as if they had never own'd it. And therefore the true Sense of Christians ought not to be taken from their practice, after it had been the thriving Religion, for then it was made a Trade, but from their Professions in such times, when they had no other Motive to embrace it but it felf, for then it is certain that all that did fo, were in good earnest. It being then so evident that the Christians through all Ages down to Constantine profess't and practiced the duty of Non-refistance, or Passive Obedience to all Princes, without referves, and exceptions, as an indispensible Law of their Religion, that is a clear, full, and unanswerable declaration of the Sense of the Primitive Church in this matter, however any might fall into a contrary behaviour in times of ease and prosperity. For then it is impossible but that there would be many in the Church, that were not of it, as we have shewn above from the complaint of Eusebius and others, how the Credulity of Constantine was abused by pretended Converts, to the great dishonour of his Government, and Oppression of his People. And yet I think no Man could think it reasonable

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to upbraid Christianity with their Scandals, and if Julian found multitudes of fuch Men in the Church, when he came to the Empire, what wonder would it be if Men that were in reality no Christians, made any unchristian Attempts against him? So that granting our Apostates the truth of their Plea, from the behaviour of Christians towards Julian, this one thing utterly barrs their Conclusion, that this was the avowed practice of Christians at that time, when at the time that he came to the Empire. there were as many in the Church, that were not, as that were Christians. But because it is to be supposed that the Counterfeits fell off with the Apostate; I will allow the Plea, that if the Chriflians who persevered in the Faith, committed any of those disloyal and Seditious pranks, that the Apostates charge upon them, that then the blame shall Ive at the Church door. And yet so as not to make a Precedent for imitation, because it is a fingle Enormity both from the plain Laws of the Religion, and the univerfal Practice of all its Profesfors, and after that it is a very impertinent way of arguing to draw any Conclusion from fuch an Example.

And yet fecondly as impertinent as it is, it is much more falle, for there is not any one instance of any one Chriftian in all his Reign, that ever made any refistance to any one of his Commands. And then whatever they did beside to affront him, that is nothing to warrant the practice of Resistance, and flews, that in whatfoever hatred and contempt they held his Person, yet notwithstanding that, they thought them-felves bound in duty to an entire Submission to his Government. And therefore of their ill manners, and uncourtly behaviour towards him, I shall discourse by it felf, because that concerns not the Argument of Refistance, and shall at prefent only shew that they were so far from putting any fuch defign in practice, that they all expresly disclaimed and defied it, as utterly inconfistent with the Principles of their Religion; and then I wonder what our new Apostates can gain by minding us of the Julian Christians. And if their case was particular, in that they had the Laws on their fide (as'tis falfely and ignorantly pretended ) and yet for all that taught the same Doctrine of Submission and Passive Obedience under him, and that upon the same unalterable Principle, as they did under all their

their former Persecutions, that will be the greatest demonstration of the universality of their Doctrine, and set it above all manner of exception upon any

pretence whatfoever.

The Apostates first fury was vented among the military Men, Men that from the very nature of their Profession are most apt to refent and revenge Injuand though he provoked them more by the Contempt and Indignity of his Persecution, then by its Severity, yet they would rather fwallow and digest Affront, the hardest Point in the World to a Soldier, then repulse it with the least rudeness, much less violence to their Sovereign Lord. And first he caused the Images of the Heathen Deities to be engraven with his own, that were fet. as the Emperors Statues were wont to be, in publick Places; that if the People shewed the usual Honor to his Statue. they might be supposed to worship the Idols; and if for the Idols fake they should refuse to take notice of his Image, he might punish them for breach of old Customs and Roman Laws in doing honour to the Imperial Majesty.

And that was another peculiar Enhancement of his Perfecution, never to punish the Christians as Christians, but

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as Criminals, and to the old Cruelties of Perfecution to add this new one of Calumny, first martyr their Innocence, and then themselves. And though by this little device he deceived fome into shews of respect to his Deities, yet the wifer easily feeing through fo flight a defign, refufed to give any Signs of Honor, and fo by their Example foon put an end to the little Stratagem; and yet neither they that were cheated into the Folly, nor they that were fraudulently punisht for withflanding it made any other refiftance to his Commands, or shewed any other difrespect to his Person. His next Stratagem was fornewhat more fine then this: It was an old Custom among the Romans, for the Emperors on their own Birth-days, or other Holy days, to give Donatives to their Soldiers, and this Fuilian does, but fo orders it, that near his Throne where he fat, was placed a Fire with Incense, some of which the simple Soldiers were told, as they came to receive their Donative, by fome that were fet there for that purpose, they were bound by ancient Custom to sprinkle into the Fire. And fo, great numbers were ignorantly drawn in to offer his kind of Sacrifice, but coming afterward to understand the Cheat, they run up and down

down the Streets and Market-places crying out, That they are Christians and ever were fo, that they were over-reacht and meerly drawn in it, and they had faerificed with their Hands, they had not with their Hearts, and fo they address to the Emperor in a Body, and request him to take his Gold again, and if he pleased, to put them to death, for they were resolved never to renounce their Religion, but were ready to lay down their Lives for it. To this Relation Theodoret adds. That the Emperor immediately commanded them to be beheaded. and they were conveyed out of the City to the place of Execution, whither they went with extraordinary courage and cheerfulness, requesting the Heads-man to dispatch the youngest first, lest by beholding the bloody Execution of others, his courage might faint, and fo one Romanus is first prepared, and his head laid upon the Block, but just before the blow was to be given, a Meffenger from the Emperor cries out at a great distance to stop it; at which the young man fighing fays, Romanus was not thought worthy to be a Martyr of Christ. I conceive this is as high an Example of Passive Obedience, as any we have upon Record in all the former Perfecutions.

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fecutions, and indeed exceeds that of the Thebwan Legion, for they were only decimated at first, and so the greatest part were sure to escape, but here the whole Body submit themselves one and all to the Ax of the Executioner, without speaking an angry or a reproachful word against the Emperor. And for this very act of Christian Loyalty they are particularly commended by St. Austin. And yet these very Men (one would scarce believe it) are produced as one of the most remarkable instances of the ill-behaviour of the Christians towards Julian.

His next attempt was at Constantinople, to reform his own Prætorian Bands, where he Disbands all Officers that refuse to facrifice in the Temple of Fortune, upon which Valentinian and Valens two of his chief Commanders, and divers others peaceably laid down their Arms, declaring themselves not only ready to part with their Swords, but their Lives for their Religion. And to these Socrates adds Jovian, though I doubt Soc. 1. 54 that is a mistake, he being his General 6. 4.

in his Army against the Persians.

In the next place finding all the old Temples at Cæsarea, the Metropolis of Cappadocia, decayed and demolisht, and

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almost all the Inhabitants Christians, he takes away both its Name and Charter, confiscates the Revenues of the Church, laies heavy and dishonourable Burthens upon the Clergy, and fixes a great Fine upon the Citizens. Swearing withal that if the Temples were not immediately Re-built and Re-adorn'd, he would immediately destroy both the City and themselves, which, says the Historian, had been in all probability effected, had not death prevented his fury; and as the fame Historian tells us afterwards Euplychius and divers others were put to death, and some banisht for being suspected of pulling down the Temples. Divers o her Martyrs there were, that were every where flain by his Prefects, Theodorus of Antioch; Eusebius, Nestabis, and Zeno of Gaza; Macedonius, Theodulus, Gratianus, Bufiris, Bafilius and others, that fuffered with the temper and patience of the old Martyrs. And though Julian himself did not put them to death, yet he did much worse, he scoffed and jear'd at their fufferings: For when complaint was made to him by the Christians, that his Officers perfecuted them contrary to his own Order, instead of giving them any redress, he plays his Jests upon them, and tells them that they ought

Cap. Io.

ought not to complain of any hard ufage, because theirs is a suffering Religion. And when the Heathens had mur. Greg. Naz. thered divers Christians in a Tumult at Orat. 1. Cafarea, the Prefect of the City punish't fome of them according to Law, the Emperor falls into a great rage, and was very near putting him to death, publickly faying, What matter is it if one Greek destroy ten Galilæans ? And that, I fay, was the peculiar malice of Julian's Perfecution, its contempt was much more provoking then its Cruelty. Christian blood was never shed so cheaply as under his Reign, and his pretending to Clemency, whilst he made himself merry with the Out-rages of his Officers, was, as Gregory Nazianzen very well Pag. 9. C. observes, the Extremity of Persecution. Lib. 5. cap. And upon this account, as Sozomen re- 15. marques, there was an unufual Outrage against the Christians at that time, and among many others he tells us, his own Grand-father was forced to quit his Countrev. And fo it was that whenever the Apostate spared any Mans blood, he always made it up in abuse and contumely; thus when he would not put Philoromus an Ancient Presbyter to death, he first shaved him, and then caused him to be publickly whipt by the Boys, which difgrace-

difgraceful punishment (fays Palladius) he endured with all patience and returned thanks to the Emperor for the honour, as he had it from his own mouth. But whatever his Perfecution was against their Persons, it was much more then all others against their Religion, for befide those perpetual shams that he put upon it to make it ridiculous; he dugg at the Foundations by rooting up the Clergy, that fo the People having no Publick Assemblies for Divine Worship. they might in time grow barbarous and lofe their Religion. And his pretence against them was their raising Seditions. And thus he banisht Seleufius and his Clergy from Cyzicum, because the Christians were so numerous in the City, that it was in vain to attempt reducing them any other way. And fo he commanded the Magistrates of Bofira to expel Titus their Bishop, and threatned, that if the People made any Sedition, he would lay the blame and the punishment of it upon the Bishop and his Clergy; upon this Titus prefents him an humble Address, shewing that though the Christians were an overmatch for the Heathens, yet he need not fear any Tumult from them, because he knew that they would follow his Exhortations

to Peace and Patience. Upon this the Apostate spitefully and childishly writes to the People to instigate them against their Bishop for flandering their Loyalty, as if they were not peaceable of their own accord, but were only wheedled into it by his Wit and Eloquence. To fuch mean and dirty Arts did his malice stoop by any ways to do mischief: but yet instead of provoking them to any disturbance by all his abuses, we find nothing else preached even at this time then the old superannuated and unseafonable Doctrine of Passive Obedience. The Apostate's last pranks against the Christians were plaid at Antioch, the great Scene of his shame and folly. Hither at his first coming Artemius an old Commander under Constantine, and who Theod. lib. for his good Services had obtain'd a good 3.6. 17. Government in Ægypt under Constantius. is fent for by the Emperor, under pretence of ferving in the Perfian Expedition, but when he comes he is fuddenly put to death upon pretence of Treason; though the real Crime was, that he had been the chief Agent under the Christian Emperors in the destruction of Idols. Artemius is followed by the two famous Captains Juventinus and Maximus, who bemoaning the Restitution of Idolatry, Qq are

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are by the Emperor cast into Prison up on the sham of Treason, where divers attempts are made upon them to betray their Religion, but all in vain, their constant answer is. That they are always ready to lay down their Lives but never their Religion, and so at length they are privately beheaded. This is all the harm that we know of them, and yet they are exhibited to the World among that Pack of Julian Christians, that pursued their Prince, as if he were a midnight Thief. or an High-way-Robber. The next Set of bloody Confpirators against the Apostate's life, were Abbas Publia and her Quire of Virgins, that perfifted to fing Anthems against Idolatry, at such times as his Majesty passed by their Chappel, at which he was at last so enraged, that he very honourably commanded one of his Souldiers to beat the old Woman that was Mistress of the Quire, so that he made her nose bleed. Which contumelious Usage ( says the Historian ) she received as the highest honour, as the Apostles did, when they were beaten too, that they were accounted worthy to fuffer shame for Christ. And therefore the old Woman and her Maids were fo far from pursuing him as a Thief and a Robber, that they did not so much as return

return him any warm Language. These are all the inftances of Rebellion against the Apostate that I know of, unless we may add that very credible Romance of an old decrepit Bishop, threatning to kick the Emperor in the head of his Prætorian Bands, at which the great Soldier that had fought fo many Battels, was fo scared, that he was forced to betake himself to his Heels. These are all those numberless Instances, in the great variety whereof a man may almost lose himself, which may be given of the Christians hatred and contempt of Julian when he was Emperor. How they reproached him and his Religion to his very beard; beat his Priests before his face, and had done him too, if he had not got out of the way. But whatever becomes of all the other Outrages, there is no other instance of the danger of his own being beaten, but by this old man that had loft the use of his Limbs, who yet it feems would have kick't him before his own Guards, had he not run away. Any Passive Obedience, how sneaking foever, would have been much more Manly and Heroick, then to kick one that was fo great a Coward, that in the head of his Troops, had not courage etrough to stand the brunt against the im-Qqz potent

in the series

potent fury of Fourscore and Ten.

But what shall we fay to the other objection. That if the old Bishops did not beat him, yet the young Divines jear'd him, gave him Nick-names, and Lampoon'd him to his beard? This I must confess is a great fault to offer any indignity to the Person of a Sovereign Prince. and reflects fcorn and contempt upon his Government: But yet I hope there is some distance between breaking an indifcreet jest, and breaking out into open Rebellion. For that is our defign to prove, that in the days of Julian, the Doctrine and Duty of Passive Obedience was out of doors, and that the Christians, who would have quietly submitted to the Laws under a Nero or a Dioclehan, purfued Julian as a midnight Thief, or an High-way Robber. That is, plainly, that they thought it Lawful to refift and purfue him by force, and that I think is Rebellion; though indeed there was no need of fuch broad Expressions, as of hunting a Thief or a Robber; for if the obligation to Passive Obedience be once taken off, active Resistance immediately takes place, and that again is actual Rebellion. Now what a strange leap in arguing is this, from a jest upon a Princes Beard, to raise an Army to cut his .

his Throat? For that is the inference here, to prove that the Christians in his time thought it Lawful to resist and rebel against his Government, because they Lampoon'd his Whiskers. But certainly men must have a very sharp stomach to Rebellion, that can encourage themselves to fall on upon such slender Invitations.

But to state the matter aright between the Imperial Beard, and its fawcy Subjects; if it met with any rough and uncivil usage, it may thank its Owner for it, who indeed brought that rude treatment into fashion by Lampooning all his Predecessors. And if Princes will condefcend fo low as to write Libels themfelves, they must pardon the Poets if they give them as good as they bring, for there is no King of Wit. And therefore this Pedantick Prince putting himfelf upon fuch an equal Level with his Subjects, by vying Wit or rather Buffoonry with them, which no Prince beside himself ever did, it can scarce amount to an act of Treason if they made so bold with his Beard. And the truth of it is, his Beard was fo very fingular and remarkable, that no Stoick could well pass it by without a fling at it, for it was the very Comet of a Beard upon a Boys face,

tuno 362. V. 27.

and that alone was a very provoking and V. Baron. ridiculous fight. \* And let but the Reader peruse his Coins, especially that in which his young felf is drawn with the old Goddess Serapis, and then I may challenge him to forbear finiling if he can. And long before this Beard was affaulted by the ill-bred Antiochian Citizens, it had been Canonifed, when he was much Lib. 17. c. younger, in the Court of Constantius. where, as Ammianus Marcellinus his Panegyrift informs us, he was Nick-named the Goat for his long Beard, and not only fo, but a pratling Mole, a Monkey in Purple, a Greek Pedant. All which the Historian imputes to their Envy of his great Glory, and parallels his Cafe with Cimons, that Envy accused of Luxury, and with Scipio's that it charged with too much love of Ease, and with Pompey's, that was blamed for too much neatness. These are little defects incident to great Men, that their spiteful Enemies might take advantage of to Eclypse the Glory of their Vertue, with the Rabble, but as for these Pedantick Affectations, for which Julian was fo highly defpifed, they could not be incident to any Man, that was not a remarkable Fopp.

But beside all this, we must consider

to what fort of Men the Antiochian Provocation was given, and that was to the Poets, by his discountenancing and difcouraging the Play-Houses, by which they were undone, and they are a fort of men, whose Wit ought to be allowed some indulgence of Revenge upon their Enemies, especially when he sharpned the Provocation by keeping them hungry as well as poor, having occasion'd a great scarcity of Provisions in the City by an imprudent Edict. Now laying all these things together, the Royal Beard had no fuch great reason to complain, considering how much its Owner exposed both it and himself, of so much hard usage, as if it had been purfued like a midnight Thief, or an High-way Robber. But after all, it does not appear that these Libellers were Christians, Julian indeed upbraids them, that their City was over-run with the Galilaan Superstition, that had wrought too great an indifferency for the Worship of the Gods, and that forthe fake of Constantius their great Benefactor and Patron, they had too much kindness for, or rather too little zeal against the Religion. But that the Libellers were Heathens is very probable from the cause of the quarrel; the chief ground whereof was his discouraging of the Plays, Q94

of which the Christians of those times were so far from being very fond, that it was accounted no less then Idolatry to frequent them, because their Scenes were really nothing else then representations of the old Heathen Impieties.

But yet beside the singularity of the Beard it self, it was made somewhat more ridiculous, and contemptible by the sumour of the man that wore it, who in a word was the very *Hudibras* of his Age. And, as himself tells us, the singularity of his humour was the thing that made him the common Laughing-Stock

to the Antiochians.

Και το μέρις ον την κακών, ότι ποιθτον ζών βίον ευφεάινη, ε ποιναίς ποι κοιναίς καιτάς κοιναίς κατάς με τάς κοιναίς κατάς με τάς κοιναίς καιτάς με τάς κοιναίς καιτάς με τάς κοιναίς καιτάς με τάς κοιναίς καιτάς κοιναίς καιτάς κοιναίς και τάς κοιναίς καιτάς κοιναίς και τάς και τας και τάς και τας και τ

He was by nature a great Pedant, wholly mafter'd by vanity and oftentation, that lay at the bottom of all his

defigns and actions. And wherever that is it turns all other perfections into ridicule and folly. And this vanity of mind was fo very visible in the features and motions of his Body, that Gregory Nazianzen says he made a right guess what he would prove, when he saw him a young Student at Athens: By his dancing Shoulders, his wild and wandring Eye, his shuffing and restless feet, his con-

**j.** 69.

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Orat. 4ta,

continual Grinning, and abusive Conversation, the variety of his Looks, and sudden alterations of his Countenance, nodding this way, and in the same moment that way, and that at nothing, asking importanent Questions without staying for any Answer: with a great number more of indecencies of behaviour, that plainly betrayed an odd Constitution of Nature.

And this natural lightness was very well improved by a careful Education, he was throughly instructed in all the Greek Pedantry, he had upon every occasion a Verse out of Hesiod or Homer, he could not so much as muster his Soldiers without difperfing amongst them fome Apothegms out of Plato or Ariftotle. But the most apish Desormity in him, was his ill favour'd Imitation of great Men, and therefore Ammianus Mar- Lib. 16. cellinus, when he conjures up all the c. 1. Powers of his indifferent Wit (as he is pleased to complement with himself ) begins his Panegyrick with as awkerd a Satyr, as a spiteful Enemy could well have contrived, by comparing him to Titus, to Trajan, to the Antonines, but especially to M. Aurelius, whom he chiefly endeavoured to imitate in all his Actions, and for the truth of that we may

take Julian's own Word, for in an Epifile to Themistius he declares himself Rival to Alexander the Great for Courage. and to M. Aurelius for Vertue: fo that by equalling both in their feveral Perfections, he might exceed both in real Worth and Greatness. And he was so apish in his imitation of Alexander, that he spent all his Nights in the same hardship that the old Romantick Historians fay he fpent his, one third part in Sleep, another in Business, and a third in Study, which continual watchfulness added to the natural warmth of his Brain must unavoidably heat it into ridiculous frenzies, and make every passage of his Life. very phantastick and affected. when such a Pigmee and Pedant as Tulian was, would swell and strut and look big, and really believe himself of equal Bulk to the greatest Gyants, and affect to. make every Step he takes as large as theirs, it must be a fight so comical and pleasant, as could not but work through the dullest Spleen of the Spectators. And this, as Ammianus Marcellinus himself reports it, was one thing that made the Antiochians merry. Ridebatur ut Circops, homo brevis, humeros extentans angustos, & barbam præ se ferens bircinam, grandiaque incedens tanquam

Oti frater & Ephialtis, quorum proceritatem Homerus in immensum tollit. In short, his whole Life was nothing but Vanity and Affectation, he imposed upon himself the hardships of the old Lawmakers, he eat by the Laws of Lycurgus, and the Sayings of old Cato, he would never be induced to a fecond Marriage out of fondness to a saying of Plato, nor cared to have his Exchequer full, for meer love of that Sentence of Alexander, That he cared for no other Treafury then what was laid up in the Bofom of his Friends. His vices as they are fet down by Ammianus Marcellinus Lib. 25. himself, are such odd and uncouth defects, as could not but pervert and spoil the greatest vertues, viz. 'That he was of a light wit, and was fo fenfible of it himself, that he defired his friends to watch him when he run into any indecency; of a loofe Tongue, and ' scarce ever filent; much addicted to 'Prophefies, unmeasurably Superstitious, facrificing Beafts without end or number, greedy of the Applauses of the Rabble, an infatiable hunter of praise from the smallest matters, and out of meer defire of Popularity, would make himself cheap and familiar with the meanest of the People. After this description of him, whatever good qualities

ties he might have beside, must be ridiculous. Thus whereas he admires him for his Clemency, his affectation of it was fo awkerd and preposterous, that he would let the most barbarous Crimes go unpunished for the glory of it, in fo much that when the Parents of a ravisht Maid complain'd to him of the injury, though by Law the punishment was death, he dismissed the Offender without any Penalty; upon which the Parents complaining of it as a dishonour to their Family, let the Laws (fays he) find fault with Clemency, it becomes a Courteous Emperor to be more civil then the Laws. This foolish action is the only instance that the Historian gives of this vertue in him. And whereas he was a great pretender to Philosophick patience, there was never any Man fo Extravagant and intemperate in his passion, as 'tis described by Gregory Nazianzen. 'Is not this highly commendable in our Philosopher, that he was fo free from passion, and so far above the Turbulent Motions of the Mind. 'like those famous Princes of former times, who were renown'd for the greate ness of their Temper, that whatever befell them, never changed their countenance, or shew'd the least appearance of disturbance, that when he sate in Judg-

Orat, 414,

Judgment, he fill'd the Court with his own noise and clamour, and was outragious in his passion beyond all expressions. Who knows not that when even poor Peasants, that publickly made their Addresses to him, to ask such things as Men are wont to beg of the Emperor, that he was wont in a violent manner to fall upon them, beat them with his fist, and kick them, and they were glad if they could scape

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But the greatest subject for contempt of him was his immenfe Superstition, which in a Learned Philosopher we may suppose much more ridiculous then in an old woman, the description of it in Ammianus Marcellinus is very pleafant, lib. 22. cap. 12. beside several other strange Stories of his Euthufiasms, to which Gregory Nazianzen is fo fo kind as to impute all his madness, and it is certain that he was fo hot-headed as to pretend to Visions and Correspondence with the Gods, and I doubt not but he believed himself. When he took upon him the Title of Augustus, i.e. when he Rebelled Am. Maragainst Constantius, he had a Vision of cel. lib. 20. the Publick Genius, that Commanded him to do it against his own Inclinations, Idem lib. and when he went with his Army to-21. cap. 20 wards Rome, he had at Vienna another Vision

Vision from all his Pupper Gods to affure him of fuccefs. But to forbear the endless Catalogue of his Follies, I shall only fet down an Account of one of his Pious Processions at Antioch, as it is described by St. Chrysoftom, who was an versus Gen- Eye-witness of it. 'He Published an Edict through the whole Empire, that the Idol-Temples and Altars should be Rebuilt, the ancient Worship given to the Dæmons, and great Revenues fetled for its maintenance, upon which Edict ' immediately the Magicians, the Inchanters, the Augurs, the Diviners, the Conjurers, the Tavern Hocus-pocus Men repair'd from all parts of the World. And here might you behold the Court replenisht with the most infamous, profligate, and vagabond Persons; for all that were ready to starve for Bread, all that were Convicted of Villany, all that were condemned to the publick Prifons, and the Mines, all the mean People that could not live upon their Trades. immediately professed themselves Heathen Priefts, and you cannot imagine in what honour and esteem they were held by his Imperial Majesty. He despised the great Commanders and Generals of his Army in comparison of these poor jugling Cheats. He made folemn Processions through the City with a rout

rout of Bawds, and Carted Whores, and whilft his Royal Guard, and Prætorian Bands kept their distance, this wretched rout of Infamous Cattle, Pimps, Bawds, ' Harlots, Sodomites, encompass't his Majesty in his Passage through the Forum, venting all the way fuch mirth and difcourse, as became such an Holy Rabble. A matter of Fact (fays he) fo abfurd and ridiculous in it felf, that I know cannot but feem incredible to Posterity. Neither indeed is it possible that any private Person, that was bound to any fense of shame or modesty, could appear in publick in fuch a foul and indecent action. And yet I hope there is no need of appealing to the Testimony of this Age for the truth of it, for there are many that were Spectators, who know, and can and will attest the Truth of my Report, and for that reason I publish it to the Witnesses that are yet alive. 'lest Posterity should suspect my fidelity 'in telling fuch an Extravagant Story. And therefore I conjure all, both young and old, that were Eye-witnesses of it as well as my felf, that if I have made 'the least addition to the soppery, they would publickly shame and convince me of it, &c.

Now after all this Evidence and Demonstration of folly can any Man be fo

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hard-hearted as to impose such a rigid severity upon the pleafant Gentlemen of Antioch, as not to enjoy some mirth from fo much folly ? Nay, though they were Christians, that did not keep their Gravity as they were wont to do, they were to be indulged in their sport, though it were for nothing else then the great pleafure and fatisfaction that they must take, in feeing the greatest Enemy to their Religion, the greatest fool in the World. But however if they jear'd him they did no more and therefore from their breaking Tests upon himself, his Beard, and his Superstition; to infer the Lawfulness of making affaults upon his Government, only proves what an aking Tooth some Men have to be at their own Conclusion, but I hope by this time it is drawn out : And flow having thus far brought down the contrary both Doctrine and Practice of the Christian Church from its first beginning to the end of this Reign, through all Varieties and Viciflitudes of condition, I shall at prefent here break off, because it is enough for its own Demonstration. Though if it please God to send me life and health, and if my Superiours think the Work worth encouragement and acceptance, I shall trace it down through the following Ages.

